



ALBERT?
DVRE R
NORICVS
FACIEBAT
1504

This page intentionally left blank

Learning to See:
Renaissance and Baroque Masterworks
from the Phoebe Dent Weil and
Mark S. Weil Collection

Judith W. Mann

Elizabeth Wyckoff

SAINT LOUIS ART MUSEUM

This book is published in conjunction with the exhibition
*Learning to See: Renaissance and Baroque Masterworks
from the Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil Collection*,
presented at the Saint Louis Art Museum from
March 3–July 30, 2017.

Copyright © 2017 Saint Louis Art Museum.

All rights reserved. No part of the publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic or mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without prior permission in writing from the Saint Louis Art Museum.

Saint Louis Art Museum
One Fine Arts Drive
St. Louis, MO 63110 USA
www.slam.org

Edited by Kelli Rae Patton

Art direction and design by Jon Cournoyer

Production by Lauri Kramer

Principal photography by Jean Paul Torno

Proofread and indexed by Christine Frank

Printing by Stolze Printing

The book is typeset in Sabon Oldstyle. The paper is Utopia Premium Blue White Silk 150# cover and
Utopia 1X Blue White silk 100# text.

Cover illustrations: (front) Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*, detail, cat. 46;
(back) Italian, 16th century, Florence, *Seated Saint John the Baptist*, detail, cat. 73;
(inside cover) Master of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, *Allegorical Theme:
Combat of the Animals*, detail, cat. 8.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: St. Louis Art Museum, author. | Mann, Judith Walker, 1950- | Wyckoff,
Elizabeth.

Title: Learning to see : Renaissance and baroque masterworks from the Phoebe
Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil collection / Judith W. Mann and Elizabeth
Wyckoff.

Description: St. Louis, MO : Saint Louis Art Museum, 2017. | Includes
bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016054135 | ISBN 9780891780014 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Art, Renaissance--Exhibitions. | Art, Baroque--Exhibitions. |
Prints--Exhibitions. | Sculpture--Exhibitions. | Weil, Phoebe Dent--Art
collections--Exhibitions. | Weil, Mark S.--Art collections--Exhibitions. |
Art--Private collections--Missouri--Saint Louis--Exhibitions. | St. Louis
Art Museum--Exhibitions.

Classification: LCC N6370 .S655 2017 | DDC 709.02/4--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016054135>

ISBN 978-0-89178-001-4

Contents

Director's Foreword	4
Curators' Acknowledgments	6
Essays	8
Memoir of a Collector <i>by Mark S. Weil</i>	
A Conservator's Reflection on Collecting <i>by Phoebe Dent Weil</i>	
Connoisseurship and Erudition as a Rule for Collecting Prints and Drawings <i>by Elizabeth Wyckoff</i>	
Reshaping the Collection Through the Addition of the Weil Sculptures <i>by Judith W. Mann</i>	
Curators' Introduction to the Catalogue	37
Catalogue	
Entries by Andrew Butterfield, Leah Marie Chizek, Paola D'Agostino, Judith W. Mann, Lisa Pon, Tom Rassieur, Elizabeth Wyckoff, and Abigail Yoder, and the students of Lisa Pon: Julie Thompson Borger, Danya Epstein, Tommy Jacobi, Shien Hauh Leu, Lucy McGuigan, Katelyn McWilliams, Carol Mach Barreto Pino, and Asiel Sepúlveda	
Section I: Introduction	39
Section II: Allegory and Myth	47
Section III: Devotion and Theatricality	87
Section IV: Print Culture	131
Section V: Master Printmakers: Andrea Mantegna, Albrecht Dürer, and Rembrandt van Rijn	145
Section VI: The Body	195
Section VII: Bronze and Clay	227
Notes to Catalogue Entries	250
Bibliography	257
Checklist of the Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust	269
Photo credits	273
Index	274

Director's Foreword


The dedication and generosity of generations of donors are the fundamental building blocks upon which the Saint Louis Art Museum's comprehensive collection has been built. This rich and varied collecting history is visible to anyone walking through our galleries. The collection of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil, comprising extraordinary European sculpture and superb prints and drawings thoughtfully assembled over thirty years, is one of the most recent, and certainly among the most magnificent, of these benefactions.

The Weil collection will not be completely unknown to our regular visitors. The 1997 exhibition *Men, Women, and God: German Renaissance Prints from St. Louis Collections* included many Weil prints. The 2006 exhibition *Rembrandt: Master Etchings from St. Louis Collections* again demonstrated the extent and strength of the Weils' holdings. Weil sculptures have also graced our galleries several times over the past twenty years. Mark and Phoebe's support of the purchase of the Museum's luminous second-state impression of Rembrandt's *Christ Presented to the People (The Ecce Homo)*, and of many other acquisitions, goes well beyond their generous financial contributions, and includes their enthusiasm for and encouragement of such major initiatives, as well as their many years of active participation on the Museum's boards and committees.

This commitment to service is generational, as Mark's essay in this catalogue describes in detail, and builds on the legacy of generosity to St. Louis and its arts community fostered by Mark's grandparents and parents before him. Etta Steinberg, Mark's grandmother, provided funds for such extraordinary impressionist and postimpressionist works as Vincent van Gogh's *Vineyards at Auvers*, Edgar Degas's *Little Dancer of Fourteen Years*, and Paul Gauguin's *Madame Roulin*. Richard and Florence Weil, Mark's parents, continued this tradition by giving such important paintings and sculpture as Edouard Vuillard's *The Art Dealers*, Henri Matisse's *Decorative Figure*, and Henry Moore's *Standing Figure*.

Mark and Phoebe's taste for old masters is attributable at least in part to their individual career paths—Phoebe as a conservator who developed a particular focus on sculpture, and Mark as a professor of art history at Washington University, with expertise in the work of sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini. Their professional interests have deeply informed their collecting habits: their sculpture is primarily Italian, but also includes French, German, and Flemish examples, while their prints encompass early Italian engravings, as well as numerous examples by Albrecht Dürer, Rembrandt, and the Haarlem mannerists, among others.

This exhibition has been titled *Learning to See*, a testament to the quest that the Weils undertook in learning how to examine and think about works of art. Their decision to share this experience with the Museum and its public audience is emblematic of their commitment to the arts and to the St. Louis community. Their gift presents an exemplary model, and will impact the experience of many future generations of St. Louisans.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Brent R. Benjamin". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized initial "B" and a trailing flourish.

Brent R. Benjamin
The Barbara B. Taylor Director
Saint Louis Art Museum

Curators' Acknowledgments

Our thanks must go first and foremost to Mark and Phoebe for their clarity of vision, extraordinary taste, and prescient wisdom in assembling the group of objects that are at the heart of this exhibition. It has been an honor and a privilege to work with them, not only in the organization of the exhibition and its catalogue, but also in the years spent developing the show during which they generously shared the collection and their knowledge in so many ways. When Mark first announced his intention to donate the collection to the Museum, we were delighted at the prospect of working with these incredible pieces and hope we have sufficiently honored them, and both of the Weils, in this undertaking.

We wish to thank the outside authors who agreed to write entries for the catalogue. Andrew Butterfield, Paola D'Agostino, Lisa Pon, and Tom Rassieur are not only outstanding scholars in their respective fields, they each have a special personal and art historical relationship with the Weils. Lisa Pon cowrote her entries with the eight students in her Spring 2016 seminar, "Print, Identity, and the Im/Material Image," at Southern Methodist University, putting into practice one of the most basic tenets of the Weils' collecting: the importance of teaching with works of art. At the Saint Louis Art Museum, young scholars Leah Marie Chizek and Abigail Yoder wrote a selection of entries that matched their areas of interest.

Leading up to the publication of the catalogue, we both attempted to fill in some of the lacunae within our knowledge of the wide-ranging scope of the Weil collection. We are grateful for the patience and generosity extended to us by museum staff in the United States and abroad—in Berlin: Volker Krahn at the Bode-Museum; Bologna: Elena Rossoni, Pinacoteca Nazionale, and Clara Maldini at the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio; Boston: Cliff Ackley, Benjamin Weiss, and Patrick Murphy at the Museum of Fine Arts; Braunschweig, Germany: Regine Marth and Ulrike Stelzer at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Danielle Carrabino, Elizabeth Rudy, and Mary Lister at the Harvard Art Museums; Cleveland: Kory Corkow, June De Phillips, and Heather Lemonedes at the Cleveland Museum of Art; Dresden: Kordelia Knoll at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen; Düsseldorf: Gunda Luyken and Regina Abels at the Kunstpalast; Florence: Ilaria Cisari at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Marzia Faietti, Giorgio Marini, and their colleagues at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Micaela Sambucco Hamoud at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, and Marta Carnovale at the Biblioteca Marucelliana; Frankfurt: Bastian Eclercy at the Städel Museum; Liverpool: Xanthe Brooke and Alex Patterson at the Walker Art Gallery; London: Hugo Chapman and An Van Camp at the British Museum, Bruce Boucher at Sir John Soane's Museum, Peta Motture and Lois Salter at the Victoria

and Albert Museum; New York: Denise Allen, Peter Bell, James Draper, Nadine Orenstein, and Freyda Spira at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Xavier Salomon at The Frick Collection; Rome: Guido Cornini, Arnold Nesselrath, and Paola Spalvieri at the Vatican Museums, Barbara Jatta and Simona De Crescenzo at the Biblioteca Vaticana, Francesca Orobi and Danila Rizza at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto Nazionale. Judith Mann further wishes to thank the American Academy in Rome, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and the Association of Art Museum Curators (AAMC), for support and stimulation provided during her time in October 2015 as the Kress/AAMC Affiliated Fellow for the 2015–16 academic year. Additional thanks go to Elizabeth Bartman, Suzanne Boorsch, Molly Bourne, David Bull, Andrew Butterfield, Stefano Deda, C. D. Dickerson III, Jamie Gabbarelli, Charles Hack, Riccardo Lattuada, Evelyn Lincoln, Estelle Lingo, Stuart Lochhead, Fernando Loffredo, Jennifer Montagu, Irina Oryshkevich, Lisa Pon, and Pat Wengraf.

Research assistants Leah Marie Chizek, Abigail Yoder, and Andrea Miller handled the minutiae of research files, paperwork, chasing down obscure references, cataloguing, and data entry. Very special thanks are owed to Teresa Kilmer and Heather Smith for their admirable work ethic and research skills. Finally, a number of highly qualified interns tracked down all manner of information. These include Melissa Baroff, Morgan Dowty, Brigid Gerstenecker, Anna Isbell, Caroline Koncz, Sara Ory, Byron Otis, Shawn Piland, and Katie Rouw.

Fundamental to any project at the Saint Louis Art Museum are the talented colleagues whose collaborative efforts make all things happen and help us to be better curators. First among them is Brent Benjamin, whose leadership and support have sustained this exhibition and its catalogue from the inception. The logistical details for the exhibition have been managed brilliantly by Jeanette Fausz, Diane Mallow, Courtney McCarty, and Ella Rothgangel. The book is beautiful due to the talents of Jon Cournoyer and Lauri Kramer. The schedule and often trying details of readying the manuscript were overseen with grace and good cheer by Rachel Swiston; the photographs were assembled and produced by Jessica Slawski, Rachel Aubuchon, and Cathryn Gowan; institutional fact-checking was done by Norma Sindelar, Bobby Sanderson, and Gina Adderley; and Kelli Rae Patton took on the enormous challenge of editing our texts covering such a broad swath of European art history. We are further indebted to our conservation colleagues Hugh Shockey, Raina Chao, Brian Koelz, and former colleague Nancy Heugh who all, along with Dawn Heller, undertook the task of preparing the objects for the show. Finally, the marvelously efficient efforts of Bryan Young and Clare Vasquez in our library have contributed significantly to the project.

Lastly, we offer thanks and love to David and Gabriel who bore the brunt of the long hours, disgruntled helpmates, and preoccupations that come with complicated undertakings.

Judith W. Mann
Curator of European Art to 1800
Saint Louis Art Museum

Elizabeth Wyckoff
Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs
Saint Louis Art Museum

Memoir of a Collector

Mark S. Weil

I was fortunate to have been raised in a family that was fascinated by the arts. My parents, Richard and Florence Weil, and my grandparents, Mark and Etta Steinberg, loved the theater, classical music, and fine arts. From the time I entered junior high school, visits to our home by major figures in the arts became a normal part of life. As a teenager I met the two most celebrated collectors in St. Louis, Morton D. “Buster” May and Joseph Pulitzer Jr., whom I listened to, and whose collections I came to know. I remember a reception in our house during which I eavesdropped as Alfred Barr, director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and David Thompson, a major collector of works by Paul Klee and other artists, discussed the strengths of two paintings by Joan Miró in my parents’ collection. Barr and Thompson were in St. Louis to attend the opening of an exhibition of Morton May’s collection of German Expressionist paintings that was held in the new Pius XII Memorial Library at Saint Louis University. Regular visitors also included Perry Rathbone, William Eisendrath, Kenneth Hudson, Dean of the School of Art at Washington University, and George Mylonas, Frederick Hartt, and Norris Kelly Smith, all members of the faculty of Art History and Archaeology at the university.

My grandmother and parents were instrumental in the establishment of what is now the Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum at Washington University, but which was then housed in Steinberg Hall and was affectionately known throughout the community as the Steinberg Gallery. In his will, my grandfather established the Mark C. Steinberg Charitable Trust, of which my grandmother, my father, and Eliot Stein (a former associate of Mark Steinberg’s who remained a close friend of the family) were trustees. The establishment of the trust was a continuation of my family’s long tradition of public service. Both of my grandfathers were philanthropists who supported numerous organizations. Maurice Weil’s philanthropy was quite personal. He helped many individuals and religious organizations of all denominations. Mark Steinberg was a great sports fan, a partial owner of the St. Louis Cardinals and St. Louis Browns at different times. He was also a benefactor of the St. Louis YMHA (now known as the Jewish Community Center Association) and St. Louis Jewish Hospital (now part of Barnes-Jewish Hospital). Not surprisingly, the trusts made major gifts to establish the Mark C. Steinberg Memorial Skating Rink in Forest Park and the Mark C. Steinberg Hospital as a wing of Jewish Hospital. My parents continued the tradition. My mother volunteered as a nurses’ aid at the veterans’ hospital during the war and served as a volunteer and board

member of Planned Parenthood of St. Louis and the Miriam School & Learning Center, which helps children with learning disabilities. My father served on several charitable boards including Jewish Hospital where he was president for four years; the Missouri State Council on the Arts, of which he was the treasurer; and Washington University in St. Louis.

My grandmother, Etta Eiseman Steinberg, chose to spend a major portion of the trust to build Steinberg Hall as the home of the Washington University Gallery of Art, the Department of Art History and Archaeology, and the Art and Architecture Library (now the Kenneth and Nancy Kranzberg Art and Architecture Library). The building opened during the 1959–60 academic year. She and my parents continued to support the activities of the gallery for the rest of their lives. William Eisendrath was the first director. He used his connections with James Johnson Sweeney, the director of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York, and Alfred Barr to open the museum with exhibitions of the work of Alexander Calder, Wassily Kandinsky, and Paul Klee, among others. My grandmother also supported the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the university with gifts from the trust to fund the activities of the department and to endow the Etta and Mark Steinberg Professorship. To love art and grow up in such a world was amazing.

Modern art was dominant in my youth because it was the passion of my grandmother and my parents. The surprise is that I did not collect modern and contemporary art, the reason



Fig. 1. Hispano-Moresque Room, installed 1938–1975, Saint Louis Art Museum Archives

for this being twofold: first was my education. It began with visits to the galleries of the Saint Louis Art Museum where I remember the Renaissance French staircase and the fountain underneath the Hispano-Moresque ceiling (fig. 1). I graduated from Washington University in 1961 with a major in art history and archaeology. George Mylonas, with whom I studied ancient Greek art; Frederick Hartt, who taught the Italian Renaissance; and Norris Kelly Smith, who taught modern art and a wonderful course on the northern Renaissance that focused on the painting of Jan van Eyck, were my mentors. In 1961 I entered Columbia University in New York as a graduate student in the history of art. Medieval, Renaissance, and early modern studies were the outstanding strengths of the department, so I was able to study with some of the greatest

minds of the field, including Meyer Shapiro, by whom I was introduced to early medieval art; Robert Branner, who taught Gothic art and architecture; Rudolf Wittkower, Howard Hibbard, and Milton Lewine, all of whom taught Italian Renaissance and baroque art. Second, all of the collectors I knew in St. Louis collected modern art. I thought it would be interesting to collect in an area that added variety to St. Louis holdings.

Phoebe Dent and I met in New York City during the fall of 1961. She was studying art history and art conservation at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University and I was beginning my study of art history at Columbia. We married in June 1963 after a romance of several months followed by a year's hiatus during which Phoebe spent nine months studying on a Fulbright fellowship in Brussels. We continued to live in New York until the summer of 1965 when we relocated to Rome, where I went to research my dissertation on Gianlorenzo Bernini's decoration of the Ponte Sant'Angelo, and Phoebe continued her studies in conservation as an intern working with Paolo and Laura Mora, professors of painting conservation at the Central Institute for Conservation, one of Europe's most important schools and research institutes for art conservation. Needless to say, we both remained committed to the study of art and shared our interests throughout a marriage that lasted more than forty years.

Collecting was a major part of the expression of our interest in art, specifically in learning directly through the physical analysis and study of the history of specific objects. We did not begin to collect in a serious, somewhat systematic manner until after 1985; we were too busy studying, working, and raising our two sons. We did make our first significant purchase while living in Rome in 1965, however. That was Salvator Rosa's *Self-Portrait in Armor Carrying a Flag*, probably painted in Rome in 1638, the year the artist led a commedia dell'arte company in which he played the role of Il Capitano, a soldier dressed in comically used and incorrect armor regaling his audience with verses satirizing important church and lay leaders of the city. The painting expresses the comic nature of such players in the chiaroscuro mode made popular by Caravaggio at the turn of the seventeenth century.

We made our next major purchase after the death of my mother in 1985, at which time I inherited a portion of the proceeds of the sale of my maternal grandmother's collection of impressionist and postimpressionist art, in which my grandmother had given my mother a life interest. Phoebe and I decided to use part of the money to acquire a work of art to celebrate our twenty-plus years of marriage. In 1989 we separately previewed an auction of old master sculpture at Christie's in London, where we each spotted a cast after Giambologna's *Sleeping Venus and Satyr* (model pre-1587; cat. 18), which we bought at auction. It took us some time to determine the quality and origin of what we had purchased. It is a beautiful seventeenth-century heavy cast from northern Europe, broadly chased and colored with a dark patina. This differs from Florentine casts, which are light, with thin walls, chased with fine detail, polished, and colored with red varnish. The purchase brought us a handsome object, which remains in Phoebe's collection, and gave us a tool to increase our knowledge of the connoisseurship of small bronzes of the Italian Renaissance.

We collaborated in the vetting and purchase of a number of important objects on view in this exhibition. These include the wonderful impression of Giorgio Ghisi's masterwork, the *Allegory of Life* (cat. 10), signed and dated 1561, which is the most complex engraving made by an Italian printmaker in the sixteenth century. It is complex in both facture, containing an incredible variety of different sorts of lines and marks cut into the copper plate, and in subject, an allegory in which classicizing and natural details refer to damnation for sins and a hope in salvation that has proved difficult to interpret. An inscription engraved in the lower left of the plate ascribes the design to Raphael, which seems to indicate a very distant source. Giulio Romano, Raphael's best-known disciple, is the most likely author. He, like Ghisi, spent most of his career working for the Gonzaga ducal family in the town of Mantua. Phoebe and I saw the work in the Artemis Gallery in London in 1989, and it literally knocked Phoebe off her feet: upon seeing it she immediately sat down with the framed print in her hands and examined it for several minutes. I have spent decades thinking about the engraving, researching, writing, and lecturing about it, in hopes of coming up with a publishable essay.

The work also proved to be the beginning of two great friendships of the sort that often accompany collecting, one with the dealer Adrian Eeles, who has remained a close friend and adviser, and the other with Tom Rassieur, now curator of prints and drawings at the Minneapolis Institute of Art, who was present when we purchased the Ghisi. Tom and I have spent a good deal of time examining prints together ever since our visit to London in 1989. Adrian, Tom, and I have long discussed the virtues of specific prints, and they have tutored me on discerning quality in prints.

The same is true of the late Helmut Rumbler (died 2016) and his wife, Petra Rumbler, the Frankfurt dealers, who were always generous with us when we visited them. Helmut took the time to tutor me on Rembrandt connoisseurship long before permitting me to purchase any impressions. Similar friendships developed from other purchases. We met Carolyn Bullard in 1989 when she brought prints to St. Louis. She joined us for dinner one evening and placed a fabulous impression of Christoffel Jegher's monumental woodcut *Susanna and the Elders* (checklist 59), where I would view it throughout the meal. The print, made in collaboration with Peter Paul Rubens around 1635, is an object that we proudly shared with visitors to our home for decades. Carolyn has remained a great friend. The same is true of Daniel Katz, who beginning in 1999 sold us a number of works including a small, fourteenth-century marble *Virgin and Child* (cat. 29), a classic late-Gothic example of its genre; and in the same year a colossal marble *Bust of Marcus Aurelius* (cat. 1), which he attributed to the Roman sculptor Carlo Albacini. The bust attracted my attention because Phoebe had long desired to have a Grand Tour bust of an ancient writer in the library of our home. On seeing the *Marcus Aurelius*, I called it to her attention as a masterpiece of the genre. It became the focal point of the transition from our dining room to the study and welcomes visitors to the Saint Louis Art Museum exhibition.

The most important purchase from Daniel Katz is a High Renaissance, polychromed terracotta of the young John the Baptist seated on a rock (cat. 73). I recalled admiring this work when we saw it in the collection of Ruth Blumka, whom we visited often before her death in 1994. It carried an attribution to Jacopo Sansovino at that time. I think that Ruth's husband, Leopold, purchased the work from the auction of the collection of Emil Weinberger in Vienna in 1929, at which time it was listed as the work of the Master of the David and Saint John statuettes. The attribution to Sansovino has been accepted by Bruce Boucher, director of Sir John Soane's Museum in London, who published a major monograph titled *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* in 1991, and included the sculpture in an exhibition of Italian terracotta sculpture mounted by the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 2001–2 and (informally) by dealer Andrew Butterfield. Others hold to the earlier attribution and, indeed, it seems to be by the same hand as a terracotta sculpture of the standing Baptist ascribed to the unnamed master in the Cleveland Museum of Art and a formerly polychromed seated John the Baptist at the Bargello in Florence, which is exhibited without attribution (fig. 53). In any case, our John the Baptist clearly was modeled and polychromed in Florence around 1510. It reflects the influence of models by Andrea del Verrocchio and Michelangelo's *David*, which was completed in 1503.

Andrew Butterfield has also become a friend, colleague, and adviser from whom we have purchased several works including a beautifully chased and patinated head of a putto (cat. 76) by François Duquesnoy who was active in Rome in the early seventeenth century. Butterfield also sold Phoebe an important small terracotta figure of Christ (cat. 72) related to an important group of the *Baptism of Christ* by Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654; fig. 51).

For us the greatest pleasures of collecting beyond the joy of acquisition are living with, studying, and sharing the objects with others. A great example of this is our 1995 purchase of a terracotta head of a woman (cat. 77), a bust illustrated in a catalogue for a sale held by Trinity Fine Art in New York. The object was attributed to Antonio Giorgetti, an obscure seventeenth-century Roman sculptor, who had been associated with the two most important Roman sculptors of that century, Alessandro Algardi and Gianlorenzo Bernini. I was familiar with Giorgetti because he had collaborated with Bernini in the decoration of the Ponte Sant'Angelo in Rome, the subject of my doctoral dissertation. To me the photograph in the catalogue revealed an object too fine to be by Giorgetti. Phoebe and I looked at the photo and agreed that the work was worth exploring. I put the bust on reserve and spent a full day examining it in New York. I concluded that it must be by Algardi or Bernini and, after further discussion with Phoebe, we purchased it. I began to research the object, and found that Rudolf Wittkower, the leading Bernini scholar, had attributed the work to Bernini in his monograph on the artist first published in the 1950s, as had A. E. Brinckmann in his pioneering 1923 *Barock Bozzetti*, a study of baroque sculptors' models.

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the bust, we contacted Henry Lie, a sculpture conservator who was the chair of Strauss Conservation Center at the Harvard University Art Museums, which holds the largest collection of terracotta models by Bernini. Lie and his colleagues, including Anthony Sigel, who has since become a leading expert on the

facture of models by baroque sculptors, joined us in studying the bust. We found that it had been restored to take the form of a portrait bust. A wedge had been placed at the back of the bust, causing it to be upright facing forward. Abrasions and small surface losses had been filled with plaster and a wash made with the plaster had been applied to the entire surface to hide the fills. Finally, the restorer had modeled a crude back of the head, attaching it to the object with plaster. Lie removed the wedge under the base, the back of the head, and the plaster wash, and he retouched the abrasions and the fills to match the color of the terracotta. The bust as conserved by Lie is clearly a work of a type that was common in Rome in the 1620s. It portrays a young woman with her head pulled back, her eyes looking up, and her lips parted. She represents a female martyr saint, receiving a vision of heaven, as rendered by artists such as Guido Reni; Alessandro Algardi, in his 1629 statue of Mary Magdalene in the church of San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome; and most important, Bernini, in his statue of Saint Bibiana (see cat. 28). A comparison of the head of the Saint Bibiana and our bust shows the heads posed in exactly the same manner, the mouths of each slightly open to reveal the line of their upper teeth.

As a result of having sent the head of a woman to Harvard, we were invited to join the conservators and curators of the Department of European Art at the Harvard Art Museums in the study of their large collection of terracotta models by Bernini and other seventeenth-century artists, which they were preparing for exhibition in the museum. This study led to our participating in a seminar in the conservation studios in which we studied the models with students and professionals and to Phoebe's participation in a symposium at Harvard in which she discussed the merits of our bust.

Sadly, our attribution of the bust to Bernini has proved to be controversial. In 2012–13 C. D. Dickerson, Anthony Sigel, and Ian Wardropper mounted the exhibition *Bernini: Sculpting in Clay* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth. They omitted the piece from the exhibition, having become convinced that it is the work of Antonio Giorgetti because that artist used it as a model for the head of an angel. Clearly, Phoebe and I disagree with their decision and I have published a short essay in which I explain our observations and conclusions. Our disappointment is minor, however, compared with the pleasure we gained from the study, conversations, and friendships that have developed from our ownership of the bust.

Our relationship with the terracotta head of a woman typifies my passion for collecting. First comes the excitement of spotting an object that is both visually appealing and seems to be of real importance. This is followed by examination of the object and the joy of acquiring it. The greatest pleasure is ownership and long-term study and research, being able to analyze the object in relation to other objects with the intent of placing it solidly within the time and place of its facture and within the oeuvre of a specific artist.

This has been especially true for me as an academic art historian. I spent my career studying and teaching students to think about and write about the relationship of works of art to specific historical periods and to the individuals who created them. Whenever possible

I placed original works in front of students and asked them to come to grips with them—to define the manner in which the object was made, to examine it to understand its current condition, and to ask why it was made. The last question—why it was made—is complex. The object probably represented something specific and held a broader significance to the artist who made it, its intended owner, and to all who have viewed it from the time of its creation to the present.

This study of the meaning of the object is extremely important to me because it opens up an encyclopedic world of knowledge. The examination of Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Nemesis* (cat. 45), for example, begins with its appeal as an object. One must learn the nature of engraving and its importance to the early sixteenth century and to Dürer, then review the history of its subject, traditionally understood to be Fortune, because it depicts a woman mounted unstably on an orb. Dürer shows her holding a precious, luxurious chalice for the fortunate, and a bridle, a restraint or burden, for the unfortunate, attributes which tie her to the figure of Nemesis rather than Fortune. The composition represents a moment in Dürer's development as an artist. The placement of Nemesis/Fortune on clouds rolling above the landscape is borrowed from late-medieval representations of the apocalypse, reflecting the artist's beginnings as a late-Gothic artist. The landscape over which she flies is taken from Dürer's drawings of Swiss alpine valleys seen from the mountains he crossed on his first trip to Italy in 1494–95. The statuesque proportions of Nemesis/Fortune herself relate to Dürer's reading and understanding of ideal proportions discussed by the first-century Roman writer Vitruvius in his treatise on architecture and Renaissance writers such as Leon Battista Alberti in a treatise on sculpture. This statement about reading art theory launches the interpretation of Dürer not only as an artist but as a Renaissance intellectual, a student of art theory and literature, and an innovator in the elevation of German to a literary language.

Toward the end of my tenure as a faculty member at Washington University, I was named the E. Desmond Lee Endowed Professor for Collaboration in the Arts. At my installation I gave a talk about the stages in the life of an academic, which is much like the course of life from childhood through maturity. One begins as an egocentric student, devoted to one's own work and ambitious to obtain an advanced degree and dominate the world of scholarship. Upon receiving a doctorate one starts to teach and finds one's time divided between self and training others, a stage at which one learns to think beyond the self. Promotion to associate professor with tenure brings the additional responsibility of committee work and an understanding of the corporate nature of the university through which one learns to collaborate with others to work for the common good of one's department and the school. Promotion to full professor and, in my case, department chair, puts one in a position of service, responsible for helping other faculty and students be creative in their work. This includes listening to the needs of others, encouraging them in their work, and helping them obtain funds and time to pursue their creative interests.

This final stage for me spread to other tasks. I spent some years as director of the Washington University Gallery of Art, now the Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, working with the university administration to put the gallery on a solid financial footing in order to better serve the community. I also reorganized the staff of the gallery, so that each member had a clear understanding of his or her role. This too was a maturing process. I had to learn to listen to members of my staff as they corrected me and helped me learn to do my job. I later took on the additional task of the directorship of what became known as the Sam Fox Visual Arts and Design Center, in which I collaborated with the deans of the Schools of Architecture and Art, the dean of the university libraries, and the chair of the Department of Art History and Archaeology to form a collaborative enterprise that led to the development of the Sam Fox School of Design and Visual Arts and the construction of the visual arts campus on the northeast corner of Washington University.

The emphasis on service implied in the preceding paragraphs, like my love of art and collecting, comes from my family. Throughout my adult life I have served on charitable committees and boards across the St. Louis area as well as universities outside St. Louis. Washington University and the Saint Louis Art Museum have always been the main focus of my service. I have served as a trustee and commissioner of the Museum and remain an honorary trustee and member of the collections committee. I also serve as a member of the advisory committee of the School of Arts and Sciences at Washington University.

I consider this exhibition a continuation of my service to the community. It commemorates Phoebe's and my passion for the visual arts and our love of learning through the study of objects. It also publicly announces the existence of the Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, through which our collection will be passed on to the Saint Louis Art Museum upon my death. Phoebe and I have had the pleasure of assembling the collection and of studying and learning from the objects. Hopefully, the presence of our collection in the Museum will allow others the pleasure of learning in the same manner.

A Conservator's Reflection on Collecting

Phoebe Dent Weil

What is it like to live with great works of art? Reflecting on that question, on the years of collecting with Mark in our joint adventure, brings back a lifetime of memories and experiences that evoke a profound sense of gratitude. The contemplation of visual art, both its making and its meaning, has been a continual source of delight for me, one that has always provided new discoveries. It has been a treasured gift and I have felt a constant tug to try to communicate these experiences to others.

For over twenty years I began each day with two remarkable prints that I encountered when I opened my eyes each morning. Both were by Albrecht Dürer: the *Abduction on a Unicorn* (cat. 11) and next to it, the portrait of the great theologian, Erasmus (checklist 42). The marvelously crafted *Abduction*, an image of male/female struggle, made a fascinating comparison with the thoughtful scholar at his desk with a pen in one hand and an ink jar in the other. A wonderful detail of the print is its focus on two hands at work recording thoughts.

Especially meaningful for me was how these prints represented two very different views of men. Unlike the aggressive captor against whom the woman struggles, the men in my life have been a source of support and encouragement. My father inspired and championed me at every step. My male colleagues and friends have always supported my work. Mark continually helped me pursue my professional life, something for which I shall always be grateful. I especially love the *Erasmus* because it depicts a scholar involved in work that requires patience, curiosity, persistence, and the pursuit of both spiritual and intellectual questions, spiced with humor, all qualities that have served as a model in my own life.

Since our collecting was a joint endeavor, it is important to go back to our beginnings as a couple. We met through a remarkable series of events that began in the early 1960s with a Picasso in need of conservation—so appropriate to the life of a conservator. The painting, a nocturnal fishing scene, was owned by Mark's parents, Florence and Richard Weil. Having shipped it to St. Louis, they discovered some parts had never completely dried. After unsuccessful treatment in Kansas City (this was before the Saint Louis Art Museum had its own conservator), it was sent to Sheldon and Caroline Keck, leading painting conservators in New York, for study and treatment. The encounter of the Weils with the Kecks resulted in a warm friendship and an invitation for the Kecks to lecture at the Saint Louis Art Museum on the newly developing field of art

conservation. Mark attended the lecture and the Kecks invited him to be in touch that fall when he was to begin his graduate work in art history at Columbia University.

The Kecks were deeply committed to establishing an academic program to train professional conservators. They had been instrumental in the launch of the first graduate program in art conservation at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University that began in the fall of 1960. I was one of five students in the first class. I had worked in the Conservation Department of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum after graduating from Wellesley and became fascinated with the field. I read about the opening of the NYU program in *Art News* and applied. Three of the five of us left after the first semester: the course was badly planned and poorly taught, partly because the Kecks were not involved. After reviewing several options, I decided to study sculpture at the Brooklyn Museum Art School because Sheldon Keck ran the museum's conservation lab and I hoped to get an apprenticeship there. I was able to speak with him, and although he did not want to hire me since it would appear he was undermining the NYU program, he thought his wife might take me on. She did, and I began working on the basics of cleaning and lining paintings, learning the trade and earning a salary, a start from which I never looked back: it was conservation from then on.

In the autumn of 1961, I worked for six weeks at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City with Jim Roth and his assistant, Clem Robertson, on a painting conservation project. When I returned to New York, the Kecks hosted a dinner for a group of graduate students, including Mark who had just begun graduate study at Columbia. Caroline invited me to come, excited to facilitate our introduction. She had an intuition that it would be a good match, and she was right.

I can remember our first conversation when I told Mark about working in Kansas City where the conservators loved telling stories about local collectors. One concerned a woman in St. Louis who reportedly called the City Art Museum (the former name of the Saint Louis Art Museum) and asked if the Museum would be interested in having a painting of water lilies by Monet. (Luckily the operator did not think it was a hoax and hang up.) Mark said, "That was my grandmother."

At that time, we both lived on the Upper West Side about ten blocks apart. Mark soon became a regular visitor, joining me and my two art historian roommates for Sunday lunches. Thus began a love affair that lasted for some fifty years. Mark delved into his studies and I rejoined the NYU graduate program and supported myself working for a rare book conservator.

Both of us had made our own art purchases by that time. Mark had bought a delightfully whimsical *Totem* by the Art Brut artist Gaston Chaissac (1904–1964) on a trip to Paris, which hung in his apartment. My first purchases were from a dealer in prints and drawings on Madison Avenue as part of a museum training class at the Institute of Fine Arts. The assignment was to purchase a work of art for twenty-five dollars or less and then to write a defense of the work and present it to the class as a final exam. My purchase was a small drawing by the French artist

Charles Bargue (1825–1883) who was noted for his *Cours de Dessin*, a popular instruction book on drawing used, as a self-tutorial, for example, by Van Gogh and Picasso.

In 1962, I received a Fulbright to study conservation in Brussels and Mark went to Rome to begin research on his master's essay on Antonio Raggi, a seventeenth-century sculptor who worked in the circle of Bernini. We came back to the States and on June 22, 1963, we were married in Memphis. We spent the summer in St. Louis and then headed to New York in the fall, where Mark returned to Columbia and I continued at the Institute of Fine Arts.

I began studying early baroque sculpture in a seminar with professor Donald Posner. He passed around photographs of the seventeenth-century terracotta *bozzetti* (models) in the Fogg Museum as a possible topic for a seminar report and I leaped at the chance to study these objects. They immediately appealed to me because they were documents of sculptural process—like looking over the artist's shoulder as he worked out his idea. I never knew such objects existed, and they became a subject of intense and delightful focus for a number of years. For my research, I went to Harvard to study all of the Fogg's *bozzetti* out of their cases. For my final presentation, the whole seminar returned with me a month later and I presented my report with the terracottas displayed on tables in the classroom. The Fogg *bozzetti* have since been removed from their humble wooden case. After extensive study, documentation, and publication, they are newly exhibited in attractive cases in the remodeled Fogg. We were lucky to have been able to study them in the more informal manner that prevailed in the 1960s.

My master's essay for NYU focused on these sketch models and their role in the production of large sculpture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It brought me into Bernini studies and was closely allied with Mark's scholarly work. My interest in these models and their evidence of sculptural process led me to publish in 1978 an annotated version of a key seventeenth-century "how to" manuscript on making marble sculpture, *Osservazioni della Scoltura Antica*, which had been written in the 1650s by the sculptor and theorist Orfeo Boselli. In subsequent years more *bozzetti* and *modelli* came to light. Mark and I continued our interest and study of sculptors' preparatory models that included the purchase of the wax and wood model for a relief in the collection (cat. 25).

This period of intense study of Bernini's working process and the beauty of his terracotta *bozzetti* served us well when Mark spotted a terracotta female head in a New York dealer's catalogue (cat. 77). He immediately noticed its "Berniniesque" quality, though it was attributed to a Bernini follower, Antonio Giorgetti (c. 1635–1669). Mark was very familiar with the artist's work since Giorgetti produced one of the angels for the Ponte Sant'Angelo, the subject of Mark's dissertation that he later published as a book. Mark had the piece sent to St. Louis and when we unpacked it I immediately noticed some clumsy plaster additions. We sent the bust for treatment to the conservation department at the Fogg Museum, where a full technical examination could be done as well as comparison with the Fogg terracottas. In 1998, while the bust was being restored, both Mark and I participated in a celebration of Bernini's four hundredth birthday at the Fogg. Mark wrote an article for the Fogg publication and I gave a lecture on *bozzetti* as part of the symposium that accompanied the exhibition.

Mark and I have enjoyed bringing our particular expertise to the study of this remarkable sculpture. It remains a contested work, one that we both still firmly believe to be the work of Bernini. As both a collector and a conservator, I have had the extraordinary opportunity to study it closely. By looking at it from the front and back as well as inside and out, I have been able to trace the sculptor's use of his hands and tools—observing the indentations made in the wet clay by the artist to establish the proportions of the head in accordance with the norms of classical sculpture as Boselli described in his treatise. The vigor and efficiency of the sculptor's working method in this piece is remarkable. I presented a lecture on the bust at a symposium at the French Academy in Rome in February 1999 where I attributed the piece to Bernini.

Other objects in our collection have inspired similar responses—for example, the two terracotta heads, one of the goddess Pomona (cat. 74) and the other a male bust, an emperor (or perhaps a poet?) (cat. 75). We acquired the *Pomona* first, and it struck me immediately as a stunning example of an early Renaissance artist absorbing antiquity and giving it a fresh interpretation, breathing new life into the forms. Her mouth is slightly open, as if she has just taken a breath and is about to speak. There are wonderful elements in the headdress, like the fruits and flowers: this artist was someone who delighted in executing such details.

When the male bust came up at auction in London, I was overwhelmed at the realization that we could have both of them since these two busts were so similar. We almost missed out when the price went too high, and we decided to let it go, but when we returned to St. Louis we received a call saying it had not sold after all, and we were able to buy it. This head also shows wonderful attention to detail: the iris is indicated in each eye, so you see him looking up and his eyebrows follow, shifting together like they do when you cast your own eyes upward. His face is incredibly animated and inspired. He wears the laurel wreath traditionally associated with poets, which has made me wonder if he might be a poet rather than an emperor, looking heavenward for inspiration.

Despite their similar origins, the two look very different because *Pomona* has a glossy painted coating to imitate the appearance of bronze, which both sculptures would probably have had originally. The faux bronze coating was removed at some point from the “emperor/poet.” I would like to see him given a surface treatment like the *Pomona* because you can better appreciate the sculptural forms with the darker coating. This step, however, would be too ethically conflicted for a conservator to make. The paint on the *Pomona* was analyzed. Small particles of gold were observed mixed in with the dark brown pigment, matching a technique described in Cennino Cennini's fourteenth-century artists' handbook. You can see the use of different tools, including the round stick inserted into the corners of the mouth and manipulated to widen it, and the stylus that was used to draw the strands of *Pomona*'s modeled hair into the wet clay, which then diffuses delicately into her shoulder.

When Mark received an inheritance from his grandmother, we were able to make our first serious purchase. In London, we saw the *Sleeping Venus and Satyr* (cat. 18) for sale at an auction house and we jumped at the chance to acquire a fine bronze from the workshop of Giambologna. One of the wonderful aspects of owning works of art is the experience of

searching for other versions. The *Sleeping Venus and Satyr* took us to Dresden shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall where we visited the Grünes Gewölbe, or Green Vault, a treasure trove of sculpture and decorative arts collected by the electors of Saxony. There we saw the preeminent example of the bronze. That version has a beautiful translucent warm-toned varnish over the golden metal surface unlike the more opaque dark brown patina on ours. Our piece appears to have a chemical patina rather than a varnish, which may have been applied to remedy the deterioration of the original varnish coating. When you look at the underside of our version, you can see that the metal has a golden cast, which tells us that the bronze alloy probably has a high tin content. The piece reads well from every angle, giving the impression that the artist was in constant motion, working around the sculpture to make it look perfect from every point of view. This approach is very different from that of Bernini who worked to establish a principal view and perhaps two subordinate views.

What is amazing about Giambologna and his workshop is the chasing, which is done exquisitely. The reclining female nude was inspired by the large antique marble in the Vatican (fig. 2) that was part of Boselli's canon of examples of ancient sculpture. A small French bronze copy of the sculpture is in the exhibition (cat. 68). The *Sleeping Venus and Satyr* is a remarkable piece, charged as it is with erotic passion. Owning such an object also opens up questions and the possibility of learning more. Research should be done on the cast, the alloy, the patina, and the chasing by making comparisons with other examples.

Sculpture is my love, and where I have always found myself returning. My mother was a sculptor and my father was a painter and an architect. My sister and I grew up drawing, painting, and modeling in clay when we took classes at the Memphis Academy of Arts. It is not surprising, then, that my conservation work focused on developing treatments for sculpture.

Although my work focused on three-dimensional objects, I am also profoundly moved by many prints in our collection, like the two Dürers I saw each morning. Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print* (cat. 54), for example, is truly one of the miracles of art history. Each and every figure is treated as a distinct individual expressing specific emotions, from the prone sick woman who, with her last ounce of energy, directs her attention upward toward Jesus, to the bored camel driver. I am especially drawn to the rich young man, who has just received an answer from Christ that has cast him into perplexity, the whole composition revolving around him as well as the children, who appear to understand Jesus's importance more clearly than anyone else.

Christ's face nearly disappears, his features difficult to discern as they dissolve in light, although in this impression the artist left a distinctive film of ink on Christ's robe. There are also distinct points of light that are produced by Rembrandt's precise wiping of the plate, like the white of the sick woman's eye below Christ. Every aspect points to the extreme skill Rembrandt brought to his art; he was truly a master of his medium, as in his paintings, where he used materials in new and daring ways to depict the visible world and how we see it.

Giorgio Ghisi's *Allegory of Life* (cat. 10) knocked me off my feet the first time I encountered it; it displays such a rich field of creatures and events. When I initially saw it, I had been reading Jungian psychology and was fascinated with the exploration of the inner world. It struck me that this image is a perfect representation of the dialogue between that interior psychological realm and the external world, with all its related inherent contrasts and turbulence. The philosopher stands immobile, seeking resolution and hope. Hope is embodied by the striding female on the right. These are just two of the endless details waiting to be examined. Spending time with this work takes us on a journey of inner and outer discovery.

There is much to savor in these treasures—whether the serenity of the marble Gothic Virgin and Child (cat. 29), the psychic exploration of the Ghisi print, the beauty of the body and sexual attraction in the Giambologna, or the profound spiritual expression in Rembrandt's images of Christ. It is my hope that others will find as much delight in studying these objects as we had in putting this collection together.



Fig. 2. *Sleeping Ariadne*, after a model by the Pergamene School; c. 240 BCE; Roman, phrygian marble; Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican Museums, Vatican City Inv. 548

Connoisseurship and Erudition as a Rule for Collecting Prints and Drawings

Elizabeth Wyckoff

The promised gift of the collection of prints and drawings of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark Steinberg Weil will be a transformative addition to the department of prints, drawings, and photographs at the Saint Louis Art Museum. Key works by two of the history of art's greatest printmakers, Albrecht Dürer and Rembrandt van Rijn, will turn already strong selections of work by those two artists into comprehensive holdings. A selection of Italian prints from the fifteenth century, including works relating to Andrea Mantegna, will create a new area of strength, while the Weils' sixteenth-century Italian and Dutch prints and drawings will cause a rapid growth spurt in those areas. What follows is an attempt to characterize the gift and elucidate the ways it will enrich the experience of Museum visitors for generations to come.

Prints and drawings have been a fundamental part of the Saint Louis Art Museum's collection for more than a century, with a strong focus on important works that represent the best of what has been produced in Europe and America in a way that mirrors and builds on the quality of the Museum's collection as a whole. Among the earliest recorded print acquisitions is Dürer's largest engraving, his *Saint Eustace* of circa 1501 (fig. 3), which forms a contrasting pair with his equally ambitious *Nemesis* (cat. 45) from one year later, a superb impression of which was acquired by the Weils following a determined search for just the right example, and now forms part of their promised gift. *Nemesis* is just one of the Weil gift's treasures, and mapping the impact of this extraordinary donation on the existing collections takes one on a journey to the heart of the history of printmaking in Renaissance and baroque Europe. Their collecting felicitously took into account the Museum's existing strengths, and at the same time the Weils contributed financially toward other exemplary purchases by the Museum—for example, the impression of Rembrandt's drypoint *Ecce Homo* on Japanese paper in the second of eight states from the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.¹

The Weil collection includes some indisputable masterpieces of the history of printmaking in consistently high-quality impressions. Among these are Dürer's *Adam and Eve* (cat. 46) and his three so-called *Meisterstiche* (cats. 48–50); Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print* (cat. 54); and the *Entombment with Four Birds* (cat. 42), which may or may not have been engraved by Andrea Mantegna, but is in any case a telling and beautiful example of forward-thinking

engraving in late-quattrocento Italian printmaking. The *Allegory of Life* by Giorgio Ghisi (cat. 10) anchors the collection's representation of sixteenth-century Italian engraving and also exemplifies the Weils' engagement with their prints, by demonstrating that their passion is not just in the hunt for great trophy objects—which this print indisputably is—but that from the very beginning their relationship with their collection combined a deep emotional commitment with an extended intellectual engagement. The story of the initial passionate reaction to this print and the subsequent years-long research seeking resolution to the layers of meaning underlying the unruly allegory (see Mark Weil's essay, p. 11) is repeated time and again, even if not always on the same scale as with the Ghisi.



Fig. 3. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *Saint Eustace*, c. 1501; engraving; 13 15/16 × 10 3/16 in. (35.4 × 25.9 cm); Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 255:1916

Fifteenth-century Italian prints form the early core of the Weil holdings, echoing Mark Weil's scholarly interest in Italian art. Although it became clear early on that this was a field in which very few truly extraordinary works still come on the market, there is nonetheless a solid group of exemplary Italian prints from the first century of printmaking, including a delicate, hand-colored impression of *Philosofia* (cat. 5) from the so-called *Tarocchi* series; the rare *Bear Hunt* attributed to Baccio Baldini (cat. 9); as well as others from the early years of the sixteenth century, including the two-plate composition *Virtus Combusta* and *Virtus Deserta* after Mantegna (cat. 7), *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* in its first and second states by Giulio Campagnola (cats. 32–33), and the allegorical *Combat of the Animals* inspired by a Leonardo da Vinci drawing (cat. 8). These and others will join a handful of fifteenth-century prints in the Museum's collection, including Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes* (fig. 33) and Martin Schongauer's *Christ Carrying the Cross*, both large prints for their time, as central reference points for discussing the early development of European printmaking.²

The Weil gift will also expand on the Museum's evident strengths in later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian prints and drawings, collections that are already relatively strong due to earlier curators whose specialty in Italian art helped shape that area.³ This includes engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, such as the early *Christ in Limbo* and the *Saint Cecilia* after Raphael's Bologna altarpiece (cats. 31 and 34), but also his notorious engraved copies of Dürer's *The Small Passion* (checklist 109), which may not qualify as a masterwork, but marks a significant moment in the early development of intellectual property and copyright.⁴

If Italian prints were their first love, prints by Dürer and Rembrandt became a core focus when the Weils realized that it was possible to acquire major works by these two artists. The prints they bought were, perhaps not coincidentally, also objects that were generally lacking at the Museum, where holdings by both artists include important, high-quality examples but are far from complete. The selection of works by Dürer and Rembrandt in the Weil collection is noteworthy for its quality as well as the choice of subjects, and includes many key pieces by both artists, all distinctive impressions in which the attention that the artists lavished on the materials they used, on the process of creating their plates, and on printing is evident.

The Dürer prints demonstrate palpably the artist's development, from the wiry figure of *Saint Jerome Penitent in the Wilderness* (cat. 36) in a somewhat outsize rocky landscape to the measured *Adam and Eve* (cat. 46) posed in a minutely observed Paradise, to the three *Meisterstiche* of 1513–14 (cats. 48–50), his unruly etching *Abduction on a Unicorn* (cat. 11), and *The Great Column* (cat. 38), an unusual object as well as a rare instance of a woodcut in the Weil collection. With the addition of the Weil Dürer prints, the Museum will be able to represent the range of his printmaking activity, from the engravings of the early 1490s through to *Melencolia I* (cat. 50) and the etchings of the later teens. *The Great Column* joins not only a copy of the first German edition of Dürer's first woodcut book, the *Apocalypse* of 1498, but also a group of multi-block woodcuts from the same period as the column.⁵ The Weil Rembrandts highlight the artist's interest in printing on a variety of

different supports, including vellum, Japanese papers, and the broad variety of European papers he used on a regular basis, making it possible to tell a much more nuanced story of Rembrandt's paper sampling in addition to his unique approach to inking plates.

The collection also includes notable prints and drawings that do not fit neatly into the categories noted above. Alongside the prints by painter-printmakers, a number of works reveal relationships of painters and sculptors with the professional printmakers who rendered their inventions in print. These include Marcantonio's *Saint Cecilia* mentioned above (cat. 34) as well as Christoffel Jegher's woodcut after Peter Paul Rubens (checklist 59), a notable example of a painter working closely with a printmaker that echoes the collaboration of Marcantonio and Raphael more than a century earlier. Prints by Hendrick Goltzius, Jan Harmensz Muller, and Aegidius Sadeler (cats. 60, 64–66) represent some of the best of northern European mannerism that developed in the late sixteenth century in the court of Rudolf II in Prague and in the Dutch city of Haarlem, and enhance the Museum's holdings in this area.

Jan Muller's *Cleopatra with the Asps* after Adriaen de Vries (cat. 65) shows the engraver acknowledging the sculptural roots of his craft and responding to de Vries's sculpture with a fluidly engraved network of lines that expressively defines the figure's three-dimensionality, while the energetic pen and ink drawing (cat. 15) of an ancient statue of Pan now in Copenhagen remains unattributed, but provides direct testimony to the feverish interest throughout the long sixteenth century in both recording and studying the antiquities that were surfacing all over Italy. This fueled the act of collecting along with the practice of art making, and this drawing shows an artist trying to understand the intricacies of the figure's pose and anatomy in the dense, crisscrossing layers of ink that are drawn over a more summary preliminary study in black chalk of the statue's contours.

Dürer's *Great Column* (cat. 38) is not alone in the interest it demonstrates in the use of printmaking beyond its relationship to painting and sculpture, as do several other works. These include book illustrations, such as those from Dante's *Inferno* (cat. 4) and the record of the fireworks displays put on to celebrate Ferdinand III's 1637 coronation as king of the Romans (cats. 41a–b), as well as other designs for ornamental objects from silver cups to wearable prints (cats. 39–40). The form of a column is echoed in the collection by the six-plate-tall eighteenth-century rendering of Trajan's Column by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (checklist 99). A visual essay on goldsmithing might begin with Paul Flindt the Younger's silver cup design (cat. 40), and continue with Rembrandt's lush and studied portrait of the Amsterdam goldsmith Jan Lutma (fig. 4) alongside Lutma the Younger's portraits of his father (checklist 63 and fig. 5) and of himself, the former aiming to mimic Rembrandt's pictorial portrait style and the latter a punched print that transforms him into a Roman hero memorialized in a marble bust.



Fig. 4. Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669; *Portrait of Jan Lutma*, 1656; etching, engraving, and drypoint; 7 3/4 × 5 13/16 in. (19.7 × 14.8 cm); Collection of Mark S. Weil



Fig. 5. Janus Lutma the Younger, Dutch, 1624–1685; *Janus Lutma the Elder*, n.d.; punched engraving; 11 9/16 × 7 11/16 in. (29.4 × 19.5 cm); Collection of Mark S. Weil

The Weils' history of deep engagement with the works of art in their collection and the pleasure they take in them mirrors what we know about how collectors behaved in earlier centuries, when amassing a group of prints often meant building a theater of universal knowledge, gathering artifacts of Greek and Roman mythology, Christianity, ancient and modern history, philosophy, literature, natural history, and the history of art. Prints formed part of a library, the impressions trimmed to the edges and pasted into albums organized by subject or by artist, ready for a student or researcher looking for the most accurate sources of information, an artist seeking pictorial solutions for new works, or an amateur wanting to pass a few hours casually perusing or intensely “reading” the detailed information presented in the visual language of engraving, etching, or woodcut. These images often carry added texts that turn them into hybrid creatures residing in a universe in between pure image and text.

It is hard to conceive of a time before images were replicated by printmaking, but in this age of swiftly expanding digital technologies it is not so difficult to imagine the wonder that must have been associated with the appearance of a miraculous means of accurately reproducing

imagery of subjects that had, until then, been widely known only in textual sources. Girolamo Mocetto's *Calumny of Apelles*, an engraving after a drawing by Mantegna (cat. 16), is one such example: the source for Mantegna's drawing was Lucian's famous ekphrasis, a literary description that immortalized a painting by Apelles, the most famous of ancient Greek painters, but by the Renaissance this text was the sole authoritative artifact remaining of the famous painting. Although ancient sculptures were being excavated with regularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, albeit largely in fragments, paintings from the pre-Christian era were much more fragile. Surviving examples like the Golden House of Nero rediscovered in Rome in the late fifteenth century, with its influential painted wall decorations in the form of *grotteschi*, a term derived from the grottoes where the fanciful wall decorations were found, were and remain extremely rare. Mantegna and Mocetto thus each played a role in interpreting and disseminating a visual interpretation of Lucian's description of the *Calumny of Apelles*—Mantegna by transposing Lucian's words into a visual format, and Mocetto by making Mantegna's drawing repeatable by translating it onto a metal printing matrix. Prints helped spread information about surviving ancient objects as well—from sculptures like *Pasquino* (cat. 63) to interpretations of grotesques that began appearing in art and architecture across Europe, such as Dürer's not-quite-life-size *The Great Column* (cat. 38) and Flindt's cup design (cat. 40).

The inquiry-based approach practised by the Weils has produced a collection that will fit smoothly into the Museum's existing holdings while significantly impacting exhibition, program, and publication possibilities. Although works on paper must remain in storage most of the time, as in museums and libraries around the world, the Saint Louis Art Museum opens its doors to individuals and groups, researchers, students, collectors, and anyone else who is interested to view selected works from the collection in the Study Room for Prints, Drawings, and Photographs. In this way, the Museum can share its treasures with the public. The Weil prints and drawings will easily find their way onto the lists of works that are regularly viewed in the study room. This venue provides an intimate environment where visitors can spend quality time in the presence of works on paper of all sizes and descriptions, which can be brought out in an infinite variety of configurations. This can range from historical overviews of a particular printmaking technique, a subject treated in the art of one or more periods, or comparisons of the approach of different artists to a subject or to printmaking in general. Thus, visitors will be able to compare Rembrandt's varied and multilayered etching process in prints from across his career, on different papers, but also with his slightly older Dutch predecessor Esaias van de Velde, who approached the plate with a singular line akin to the way he approached his direct chalk drawings.⁶ Esaias's landscape etchings of the mid-1610s were surely an example for Rembrandt, but the younger artist took that example in unexpected directions. Depictions of Adam and Eve or other lovers from history and myth by Michael Wolgemut and his student, Dürer, Jacopo de' Barbari (cats. 46–47), Lucas Cranach the Elder, Rembrandt, and Emil Nolde in early twentieth-century Germany, can form the basis of discussions as far-ranging as the depiction of the nude in European art to interpretations of Genesis, or a discussion of representations of the exotic in Western art.

The Weils' Dürer prints have been lent more than once to the Museum, notably to the 1997 exhibition *Men, Women, and Gods: German Renaissance Prints from St. Louis Collections*, of which Mark Weil was a co-curator, and which benefited significantly from the strengths of the Weils' collection. Likewise, the 2006 *Rembrandt: Master Etchings from St. Louis Collections*, organized on the occasion of the five hundredth anniversary of the artist's birth, demonstrated precisely how this promised gift will strengthen a part of the collection that the Museum has built over a century since the first acquisition of a Rembrandt etching in 1913.⁷ Most recently, Mark was instrumental in locating a breathtaking impression of the artist's most ambitious landscape etching, *The Three Trees*, purchased by the Museum in 2011.⁸

If the above discussion emphasizes the erudition behind the formation of the Weil collection, there are also specific physical comparisons that will only become possible at the Museum with the Weil gift. These comparisons speak to the tactile, object-related sensibility that formed this collection, namely prints that will facilitate studies in connoisseurship. To mention just a couple of examples, it will now be possible to put two impressions of Dürer's *Knight, Death, and the Devil* (cat. 48 and 65:1951) side by side to examine the minutiae that constitute the distinctions between impressions first outlined by Joseph Meder, and something similar can be done with the fifteenth-century Italian prints, such as the early Mantegna *Entombment with Four Birds* (cat. 42), which can be compared with later printings from other Mantegna plates.⁹

Many of the prints in the Weil collection formed part of distinguished earlier collections, such as the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth (cat. 48), and the Amsterdam burgomaster Jan Six, as indicated in an inscription on the verso of *The Hundred Guilder Print* (cat. 54). The presence of numerous collectors' marks on the Weil prints and drawings makes it possible to tell a social history of the prints through their collectors. Peter Lely and Jonathan Richardson Sr., painters in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain, respectively, both built substantial collections. Richardson, whose stamp appears to the left of the feet of the Pan sculpture in the Weil drawing (cat. 15) opposite Lely's, was also the author of theoretical art texts, and is credited as the first to use the term *connoisseur*. Richardson and his son cowrote *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy* (1722), a book that demonstrates their broad knowledge and the son's personal experience of art across the European continent. Despite the lack of reference to this particular drawing, the book discusses a drawing of one of the statues Richardson Junior may well have experienced in person. Other renowned collectors whose marks appear on Weil prints and drawings include Pierre Mariette II, William Esdaile, Friedrich August II of Saxony, J. P. Morgan, and one of the most noted of modern-day collectors, Samuel Josefowitz.

There are many more connections to be made with a long list of other fascinating works that, due to space constraints more than anything, are not included in the exhibition, and appear only on the checklist at the end of this volume. The generosity of this promised gift means that there will be countless future opportunities to dwell at length on those prints and drawings, both in the study room and in exhibitions and publications when the collection formally becomes part of the Saint Louis Art Museum.

1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ Presented to the People (The Ecce Homo)*, 1655, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Shop Fund, Friends Fund, and funds given in honor of James D. Burke, Museum Director from 1980 to 1999, by Mr. and Mrs. Lester A. Crancer Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Christian B. Peper, the Ruth Peters MacCarthy Charitable Trust, an anonymous donor, Mary and Oliver Langenberg, Phoebe and Mark Weil, Sam and Marilyn Fox, The Sidney S. and Sadie Cohen Print Purchase Fund, the Julian and Hope Edison Print Fund, Margaret Grigg Oberheide, an anonymous donor, Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth F. Teasdale, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Bachmann, the Anne L. Lehmann Charitable Trust, Anabeth Calkins and John Weil, Mrs. James Lee Johnson Jr., Suzanne and Jerry Sincoff, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Weiss, Mr. and Mrs. Martin E. Galt III, and Mr. and Mrs. Andrew B. Craig III 1:1999; two Weil collection objects also come from the Chatsworth collection (cats. 6 and 48).
2. Saint Louis Art Museum, Bequest of Horace M. Swope 692:1940.
3. Nancy Ward Neilson (worked as a curator at the Museum in European art and prints, drawings, and photographs between 1968 and 1976) and Francesca Herndon Consagra (curator of prints, drawings, and photographs, 1999–2008).
4. Pon 2004.
5. Albrecht Dürer, *The Apocalypse*, 1498, Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Berenice C. Ballard in memory of her father and mother Mr. and Mrs. James F. Ballard 831-847:1940; Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I*, 1522, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 21:1929a-h; Sebald Beham, *Satyr and Nymph Wallpaper*, c. 1520–25, Saint Louis Art Museum, Bequest of Horace M. Swope 91:1940; Sebald Beham, *Fountain of Youth*, c. 1536, Saint Louis Art Museum, Bequest of Horace M. Swope 90:1940a-d.
6. Esaias van de Velde, *Farm Beyond a Canal*, from the series *Ten Oblong Landscapes*, 1615–16, Saint Louis Art Museum, The Julian and Hope Edison Print Fund 3:2012.
7. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Landscape with a Cottage and a Large Tree*, 1641, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 2:1913.
8. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 161:2011.
9. Meder 1932; Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of J. Lionberger Davis 65:1951; the Saint Louis Art Museum collection includes impressions from eight other Mantegna-related plates.

Reshaping the Collection Through the Addition of the Weil Sculptures

Judith W. Mann

The Saint Louis Art Museum's collection of European sculpture made before 1800 is very small, even though the earliest documented acquisition was an eighteenth-century plaster bust given to the Museum in 1909.¹ Roughly one-third of the objects collected during the 1920s and 1930s were three-dimensional, primarily Renaissance bronzes and enamelwork. Throughout the subsequent decades paintings became the objects prized and sought after by the directors and curators who built the collection. During the past decade, however, two of the four purchases we made were sculptures, part of a concerted effort to expand our holdings in recognition of the importance of sculpture in providing a full presentation of the visual arts in Europe during the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The promised addition of the forty sculptures from the Weil collection will completely redefine the manner in which the Museum can present western European art during the Renaissance and baroque periods.

Many museums formerly separated their sculpture and painting holdings into discrete departments and galleries, although more and more institutions have abandoned that practice. It was never done with the holdings here in St. Louis. Sculpture and paintings have always shared the gallery spaces, although when there are far too few examples of sculpture, it is hard to achieve the dynamic interplay that animates both. During the reinstallation of the European galleries prior to the opening of the David Chipperfield-designed East Building in 2013, I was reminded of the visual energy that occurs only when paintings and sculpture are shown together. When we were placing objects in Gallery 236, the large gallery on the west side of Sculpture Hall, the first task was to install the paintings. After nearly half the pictures were in place, and before it was time to install the sculptures, it was necessary to bring in the large Antonio Gagini *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* because the gallery in which that marble had been stored was now being turned back into display space.² We did not place the sculpture in its designated spot, but rather simply moved it to the gallery and stabilized it against a wall. Nevertheless, I was struck by the profound impact that the mere presence of a sculpture had upon the gallery. It was a changed, and much improved, space. The Weil sculptures will provide the opportunity to enliven more of our galleries with stunning examples of European sculpture. The determination to use Gallery 236 for European art to



Fig. 6. *Saint John the Baptist*, c. 1525–40; Italian; bronze; with base: 27 × 10 1/2 in. (68.6 × 26.7 cm); Saint Louis Art Museum, Funds given by the Caleb C. and Julia W. Dula Charitable and Educational Foundation, Museum Purchase, and Friends Fund; Gift of Horace Morison, Bequest of Horace M. Swope, the Estate of Mrs. Edith Rabushka in memory of Hyman and Edith Rabushka, and Gift of J. Lionberger Davis, all by exchange 50:1992

1800 was based on the hope that the Weil collection would come to the Museum. Over the years, Mark and I have had numerous discussions about how poorly served sculpture can be by tight spaces that do not allow adequate visual access or sympathetic viewing angles. As decisions were being made about locating the artworks from the various Museum departments, I staked my claim to Gallery 236 as soon as I could in order to have a space that would suitably accommodate the Weil pieces.

The simple fact that the Weil trust doubles the number of Renaissance and baroque sculptures within the Museum holdings is significant. A gift of such handsome and intriguing old master sculptures has great meaning for me personally since the first object I acquired for the Museum was a bronze *Saint John the Baptist* (fig. 6). It mirrors in its way what is so remarkable about the objects that Mark and Phoebe Weil assembled during the twenty-plus years that they actively collected. It is a beautiful object that opens our eyes and minds to many issues related to the making of bronze sculpture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was purchased initially as an early sixteenth-century object, and through research and discussion with knowledgeable curators and conservators over the twenty-five years since it was acquired, we have realized that it may have come from the same mold as an example in a private collection in London, and that it was probably made later in the sixteenth century. Therefore, as we have thought about and examined this figure, it has

become an ever-more interesting puzzle, one that has a lot to tell us about the taste, fabrication, and meaning of bronze sculpture during the late Renaissance period.

In looking at the pieces the Weils collected, each one challenges us to think anew about the culture and time period in which the work was made. Like the best collectors, Mark and Phoebe did not seek famous names but responded instead to the beauty, ideas, craftsmanship, and originality of concept inherent in the sculptures they selected. That does not mean, however, that their collection includes no significant players in the history of Renaissance and baroque art. Their collection includes a terracotta by Benedetto da Maiano (1442–1497, cat. 24) who was among the most noted Florentine sculptors of the late fifteenth century. Mark Weil was kind enough to lend it to the Museum in 2012. When it was put on display it transformed the manner in which the Museum presents the artistic flourishing of the fifteenth

century. The Museum has fine examples of fifteenth-century Florentine painting that demonstrate how the medieval notion of piety that de-emphasized the material body gave way to images where physical space and palpable figures concretized the experience of faith and the divine.³ But there had been no example of a major sculptural work that embodied those ideas. The Museum owns a lovely ambry doorway with a relief sculpture attributed to the workshop of Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484),⁴ but the attribution is not certain and the shallow relief does not provide a good example of the sense of solid form and elegant realism that characterizes the period. The addition of a terracotta by Benedetto therefore fills a large need in the collection, a particularly noteworthy one since two key ideas that marked the Renaissance, the embrace of classical ideals and the adoption of the natural world as a model, first manifested themselves in sculpture in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Although the Benedetto is not an early Renaissance example, it allows visitors to the Museum to appreciate the translation of the observable details of the natural world into an engaging three-dimensional form.



Fig. 7. after Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608; probably cast by Antonio Susini, Italian, active 1580–1624; *Fowler*, late 16th–early 17th century; bronze with gilding; with base: 17 × 5 × 6 in. (43.2 × 12.7 × 15.2 cm); Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 284:1951

The Weil collection will enhance the Museum's existing holdings of outstanding works by major figures in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European art. An example is the extremely fine bronze by Giambologna (1529–1608), a Flemish sculptor acknowledged to be the leading artist working in Florence in the second half of the sixteenth century. The *Fowler* (fig. 7), a finely chased and gilded bronze, is the sort of cherished object that princely collectors would own and enjoy displaying. It is a secular object that reflects one of the most popular pastimes for the gentry during the early modern period, the hunt. The Weil collection will allow the Museum to augment this outstanding example of Giambologna's secular work with equally important evidence of the sculptor's sacred production. The corpus figure (cat. 69) that the Weils bought communicates, through the beauty of Christ's fallen head as well as the graceful pose of the lifeless body, the pathos of his passion. The fine chasing of the drapery as well as the exquisite definition of the facial features make it an excellent illustration of the extraordinary work that came out of Giambologna's workshop.



Fig. 8. *Corpus*, c. 1150; German; bronze with gilding; 7 × 7 1/16 in. (17.8 × 17.9 cm); Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 73:1949

This corpus figure enhances the Museum's collection in other ways as well. The Museum owns a rare Romanesque corpus, one of the best of its kind (fig. 8). Marked by beautifully defined drapery folds, delicate patterns of decorative edging, and fine chasing, it testifies to the high level of artistry achieved in medieval bronze work. Adding a signature treatment of Christ's body by a major Renaissance artist will help visitors appreciate the achievement in each case. Another Weil corpus, designed by the renowned genius of baroque sculpture, Gianlorenzo Bernini (cat. 71), further clarifies how differing styles can inform the meaning of a work of art. Having all three of these fine objects will afford the Museum a marvelous opportunity to teach, since this simple motif, represented by exemplary objects from three different stylistic periods, speaks powerfully to the change of style and can enable students as well as the general visitor to grasp essential visual characteristics specific to each era.

The Weil collection will bring in yet another example of the crucified Christ, although this one is part of a narrative relief possibly made in Augsburg in the sixteenth century (cat. 70). This piece serves as a meaningful comparison to three other Crucifixion reliefs in the Museum's

collection, one of bronze, one of limestone, and one of ivory.⁵ In fact, these three reliefs have been placed on view in the permanent collection galleries during the course of the Weil exhibition so that visitors can compare the different treatments of a single narrative, as well as the various materials, tastes, and styles that each represents. When the Museum integrates the Weil collection into the galleries, these kinds of comparisons will offer opportunities to experiment with digital and online delivery for myriad forms of museum interpretation, which will be a fitting tribute to Mark and Phoebe Weil's vision in amassing and sharing their collection with generations of St. Louisans.

Perhaps the most important sculpture from the Weil collection is the painted terracotta of the youthful Saint John the Baptist (cat. 73). Its highly realistic rendering of the patron saint of Florence underscores the importance of naturalism in sixteenth-century Florentine art. It is also noteworthy for the originality of its conception, since the creator of the piece achieved a high degree of expressiveness in the rendition of such a commonly portrayed subject. Equally important, it gives visitors a more accurate sense of how Renaissance objects were intended to be seen since it retains its original painted appearance. The Museum already has an Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525), *Mother of Sorrows*, a sixteenth-century glazed terracotta, which is a moving example from one of the most important Florentine workshops.⁶ The Saint John, however, was never glazed and is therefore more noteworthy for having retained its color.

The Weil collection offers two other fascinating Renaissance terracottas that will give visitors a better understanding of the humanist culture of Renaissance Italy. Other than portraiture, the Museum's collection lacks a good example of secular art from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century; the *Reclining Pan*, one of the Museum's most treasured holdings, is of unknown date.⁷ It was originally purchased as a work made in the 1530s, although more recent scholarship has indicated that it was most likely created after 1550.⁸ The two heads, probably made in Mantua or Padua in the sixteenth century (cats. 74 and 75), portray favored subjects that Renaissance princes and humanist scholars enjoyed—classical mythology (one head depicts Pomona, the Roman goddess of abundance) and Roman history (the other head portrays an unidentified Roman emperor or writer). Examples of these heads that survive from the Renaissance are generally made of bronze, a more durable material, and are usually of smaller scale; the existence of such heads in a fragile medium is remarkable. Better still, these busts were originally covered in dark brown paint to simulate the more expensive bronze; the *Bust of Pomona* retains its original coating. By providing Museum visitors with evidence of such practice, the value of bronze and the tastes of Renaissance patrons become very clear.

The busts will also provide a context for the Museum's powerful baroque terracotta, Pierre Puget's *The Blessed Alessandro Sauli as Saint Augustine*, since the intention is to display them in the same gallery.⁹ Visitors will be able to see the very different manner for the handling of the clay by comparing Puget's manual manipulation of the material with the more restrained use of sculpting tools to define details in the earlier examples. The Weil collection therefore

will allow Museum visitors to glean a better understanding of the technique of sculpture as practiced by various artists during different art historical eras.

In the art of the Renaissance, small bronze sculptures express central tenets of the age. As part of the revival of antique forms, Renaissance humanists commissioned and collected these diminutive objects, having learned from reading the works of the Roman author Pliny that Hellenistic collectors admired them. Thus, the acquisition of these prized items was an act of homage to the ancient past. The Museum currently has a small collection of bronzes, some of which are displayed in Gallery 203 as examples of copies of antiquities that eighteenth-century collectors liked to purchase. We have not had enough bronzes to make a meaningful grouping for the Renaissance gallery, but the addition of the Weil bronzes will enable such a presentation. The gift will bring in two small bronzes (cats. 14 and 79) that can be proved to be products of the workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (active c. 1496–c. 1543), a Paduan artist who headed a major studio that produced engaging examples of playful satyrs and lively human figures.

A third relatively small bronze represents *Hercules and Antaeus* (cat. 67), the first example in the collection of a narrative subject treated in this medium. Furthermore, it underscores the importance for sixteenth-century artists of making copies after the antique, since it reproduces a full-scale marble sculpture that is now in the Pitti Palace in Florence (fig. 47). The bronze may have played a role in the restoration of the antiquity. It also brings into the Museum's holdings a great example of one of the aesthetic goals of mannerist sculpture—works of art intended to be seen and appreciated from multiple viewpoints. None of the other examples of sixteenth-century sculpture already in the collection demonstrates this aspect of late Renaissance taste so well.

Perhaps the greatest contribution that the Weil gift will have upon the collection is on the representation of baroque art as it was practiced in Rome. A group of five sculptures, four in bronze and one in terracotta, will not only represent two of the major names in seventeenth-century Roman baroque art, Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and François Duquesnoy (1597–1643), but will allow visitors to get a glimpse into the workshop system, understand more fully the role that copies can play, and experience the emotive power of objects that embody the spirit of the baroque age so well. Four of these pieces address different aspects of Bernini and his circle. There is a copy of his first major religious commission (cat. 28) that testifies to the appreciation of Bernini's iconic works. There is a bronze bust (cat. 80) made in Rome from a wax model that may have been fashioned in Bernini's workshop that captures the character of a Bernini portrait. There is a gilded corpus of Christ (cat. 71), already discussed, which was created in the Bernini workshop by a team of bronze workers, based on a commission for such figures intended for use at the altars of the side chapels in Saint Peter's. Finally, one of the most beautiful and enigmatic pieces in the collection is the lovely *Head of a Young Woman* (cat. 77), most likely a preparatory model that was made for the creation of a more finished object. It is an evocative rendition of a pious woman or saint in the throes of spiritual transport, and in that way serves as an effective demonstration of

the power of baroque art. The Museum's collection of true baroque sculpture numbers fewer than six pieces, so the addition of such an exemplary bust changes the collection.

The Weil collection will bring into the Museum the first examples of Neapolitan sculpture of the seventeenth century, two gilded angels (cats. 23a–b) by the architect/sculptor Cosimo Fanzago (1591–1678). These will augment nicely the early eighteenth-century oil sketches by Luca Giordano (1634–1705), created for an important chapel in the Certosa di San Martino in Naples.¹⁰ Furthermore, the Museum owns Salvator Rosa's *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*.¹¹ Although the work was created in Rome, Rosa was nonetheless a major figure in Neapolitan painting. Another gilded bronze *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 35) is a sculpture of unknown origin that captures the power of faith and devotion one associates with Neapolitan art. It was created in multiple versions, an indication that it was a highly prized object among elite collectors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It comes close in temperament to powerful images of piety and religious fervor that were characteristic of Neapolitan painting and sculpture during the baroque period. It joins our very expressive and emotive Pierre Puget, *The Blessed Alessandro Sauli as Saint Augustine*, as well as a lovely carved boxwood representation of Saint Sebastian that will allow viewers to understand the range of expressive possibilities in treating that common and very popular subject.¹²

The large marble bust (cat. 1) that marks the start of the exhibition is the sole sculptural object from the eighteenth century in the Weil trust. It represents the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, and thus relates to Mark Weil, as they share a name. It is also representative of how Mark and Phoebe collaborated when they assembled their collection. A head, copied after the antique, had been a longtime collecting goal for them, meant to adorn the library of their residence. Given that so many of the Weil pieces were based on antique sources, this particular sculpture highlights another aspect of the replication of the antique, the colossal figure. In this way, perhaps, it is this sculpture that fully embodies the impact of the Weil collection on the department of European Art to 1800. It is large, it is wonderful, and it serves as a fitting testament to the intelligent and demanding connoisseurship of Mark and Phoebe Weil.

1. Jean Caffieri, *Bust of van Cleve*, n.d., plaster, Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Dr. W. J. MaGee 232:1909.

2. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 37:1936.

3. Giovanni di Paolo, *St. Thomas Aquinas Confounding Averroës*, 1445–50, tempera and gold leaf on panel, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 56:1941; Piero di Cosimo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Sts. Peter, John the Baptist, Dominic, and Nicholas of Bari*, c. 1481–85, tempera and oil on panel, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 11:1940.

4. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 5:1924.

5. Guglielmo della Porta, *Crucifixion*, mid-16th century, bronze, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 43:1924; circle of Loy Hering, *Crucifixion*, c. 1540, limestone, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 126:1924; French, *Diptych with Virgin and Angels and the Crucifixion*, 1340–60, ivory, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 493:1955.

6. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 106:1932.

7. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 138:1947.

8. Gregg 2015, 1–32; Loffredo 2013, 145–74; Ortenzi 2006, 71–82.

9. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 50:1968.

10. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 60:1965, 61:1965.

11. Saint Louis Art Museum, Friends Fund 72:1970.

12. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 487:1955.

Curators' Introduction to the Catalogue

This exhibition celebrates a collection of exemplary objects put together by two extraordinary individuals. The prints, sculptures, and drawings presented were selected predominantly from the works of art that have been promised to the Museum as part of the Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust. They have been augmented with several pieces from the personal collections of the Weils. The chosen prints are enormously diverse, and range from textbook examples of prints by Albrecht Dürer and Rembrandt van Rijn to a printed headpiece by Agostino Carracci. The works of sculpture include studies done in preparation for finished projects, refined bronzes for erudite collectors, and a monumental bust made in Rome to commemorate an antiquity. In contemplating how best to present this eclectic group of artworks, it became clear that a number of recurring themes and ideas animate them. The objects represent many of the important intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual questions that engaged artists and patrons during the Renaissance and baroque periods. This catalogue mirrors the exhibition's layout: an introductory group of objects followed by the rest of the artworks grouped according to six thematic sections.

With or without the thematic structure, the objects speak for themselves—through their beauty, the evidence they provide of the artists' mastery of their respective materials, and the compelling ideas and messages they convey. They are a profound tribute to the knowledge and passion of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil and to their generosity in sharing their collection with St. Louis and the world.

Judith W. Mann

Elizabeth Wyckoff

Practical information for the use of the catalogue

Bibliographic citation differs according to medium. A full publication history is cited for sculptures and drawings; for the prints, since they are multiples, a selected bibliography is cited, which includes the standard references and selected useful and important sources. Likewise, for the sculptures, exhaustive marks and labels are recorded; for the prints and drawings the most relevant selected inscriptions and all collectors' marks are noted.

Authors of catalogue entries are identified by their initials: Andrew Butterfield (AB), Leah Marie Chizek (LMC), Paola D'Agostino (PDA), Judith W. Mann (JWM), Lisa Pon (LP), Tom Rassieur (TR), Elizabeth Wyckoff (EW), and Abigail Yoder (AY), along with the students of Lisa Pon: Julie Thompson Borger (JTB), Danya Epstein (DE), Tommy Jacobi (TJ), Shien Hau Leu (SHL), Lucy McGuigan (LM), Katelyn McWilliams (KM), Carol Mach Barreto Pino (CMBP), and Asiel Sepúlveda (AS)



Section I: Introduction

The three objects chosen to introduce the exhibition reflect key aspects of the Weils' collecting. The monumental eighteenth-century bust of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius speaks to the impact of the antique world on art and culture in Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Numerous prints and sculptures in the show reflect ideas and visual forms adopted from ancient sources. The bust also reflects upon the Weils themselves. Marcus Aurelius, after all, was known as the philosopher-emperor, and Mark and Phoebe have always been deeply guided in their collecting choices by the intellectual and spiritual concerns addressed in the objects they selected. The bust thus also speaks to the art historical backgrounds of both collectors. On a personal level, the marble head was chosen as an adornment leading into the library of the Weil home.

A distinctive feature of the Weil collection is its strength in early Italian prints, an interest exemplified by the two engravings by Giulio and Domenico Campagnola, celebrated artists in early sixteenth-century northern Italy. Their work echoes the evocative pastoral themes favored by contemporary Venetian artists and writers and places the two artists squarely within that milieu. Each of them had a distinctive way of engraving: while Giulio's stipple engraving was unprecedented in its success at capturing the subtle velvety tones of the paintings of Titian and Giorgione, Domenico's forceful draftsmanship mimicked the drawings of those artists.



I

Italian, 18th or 19th century, Rome

Bust of Marcus Aurelius, late 18th–early 19th century

marble

with socle: 31 3/4 × 15 3/4 × 14 15/16 in. (80.6 × 40 × 37.9 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Patrice Bellanger, Paris; Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, until 1999

This bust, based on an ancient portrait of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, exemplifies the taste for antiquities in eighteenth-century Rome. The emperor was a particular favorite of Enlightenment patrons whose admiration for the philosopher/ruler was based in part on his *Meditations*, a compilation of personal reflections on ethics and Stoicism. The expansive, slightly furrowed brow and the focused pupils convey a thoughtful individual. The play of the curly hair against the subtly modeled face makes it a handsome example of a bust based on an antique prototype. It sits on a squat socle with an intermediary block framed by a scroll at either side that became the standard eighteenth-century support for this type of sculpture.¹

It has been suggested that the Weil bust derives from the famous equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitoline Museum, and indeed the facial features are quite similar. Another candidate that warrants consideration was on the art market in 2012 (fig. 9).² That sculpture was purchased in 1776 by Thomas Jenkins, an English antiquarian and dealer who was known to have been in contact with many of the artists working in Rome in the late eighteenth century.

The head has been attributed to the Roman sculptor Carlo Albacini (active 1760–1807), known for his restoration of the Farnese collection before it was taken to Naples in 1787.³ In addition to refurbishing ancient sculptures, the artist produced copies of antiquities and created original sculptures evoking the antique world. Albacini was trained by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1716–1799), who ran one of Rome's largest workshops during the second half of the eighteenth century. Described as a factory and museum as well as a studio, it was visited by sculptors and collectors who could purchase work of varying degrees of authenticity—the marbles for sale were often pastiches or fragments embellished to make them salable.⁴

Cavaceppi amassed an impressive collection of plaster casts, objects of interest in their own right, as well as models for copies. Albacini also acquired a sizable collection of antiquities and casts, including no fewer than six examples of the head of Marcus Aurelius.⁵ Albacini's most impressive creations included his monumental busts of ancient worthies, such as those of Alexander the Great and Marcus Aurelius's co-emperor and adoptive half brother, Lucius Verus (fig. 10), both now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Weil head has been attributed to Albacini. The Walker *Lucius Verus* may, in fact, lend further support to such an attribution. Busts of Marcus Aurelius and



Fig. 9. *Bust of Marcus Aurelius*, c. 170–180 BCE; Roman; marble; height: 35 1/2 in. (90.2 cm); Private collection

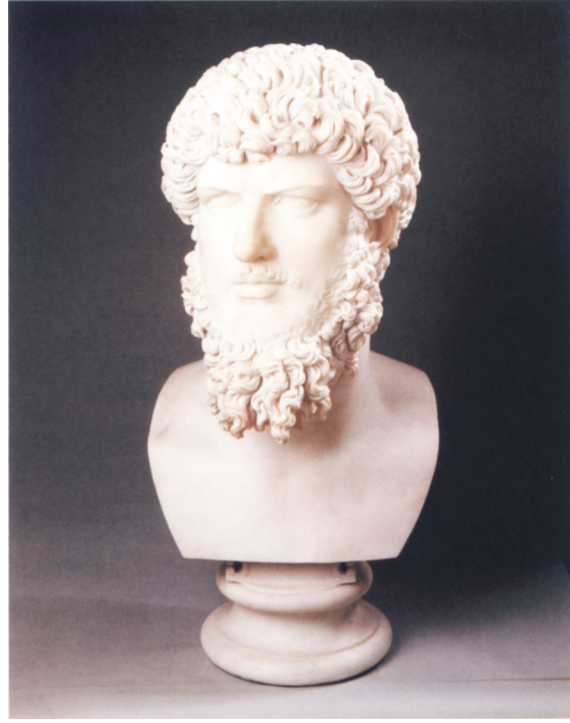


Fig. 10. Carlo Albacini, Italian, active 1760–1807; *Bust of Lucius Verus*, before 1777; marble; Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Lucius Verus were often created in sets; a famous antique pair from the Borghese Collection, now in the Louvre, was known and copied in the eighteenth century. The Walker *Lucius Verus* is acknowledged to be based on the Louvre version, but no corresponding example of a Marcus Aurelius has yet come to light.⁶ Furthermore, the *Lucius Verus* in the Walker collection is close in scale to the Weil bust, suggesting they may have been a pair. All of these circumstances lend credibility to an Albacini attribution.

Nonetheless, there is reason to question Albacini's authorship, since numerous sculptors went to Rome in the eighteenth century, many of whom have yet to be identified. They all copied the celebrated images of Roman emperors and mythological heroes; examples of their work are legion. Most important in assessing authorship of the piece, the stylistic evidence for Albacini's hand is not strong. The work does not demonstrate Albacini's mastery of textural contrast when carving marble, a point made by Elizabeth Bartman who shared her opinion, based on digital photographs, that the bust is probably not the work of Albacini.⁷ Fernando Loffredo, who examined the piece firsthand, also noted that the definition of the hair lacks the depth of cutting and the greater play of light and shadow that is noteworthy in the Walker busts.⁸ It is hoped that as further work progresses on artists based in Rome during the eighteenth century, information will surface that can aid in a more precise attribution. JWM



2

Giulio Campagnola, Italian, c. 1482–after 1515

Young Shepherd, c. 1509

engraving, state ii/ii

image: 5 5/16 × 3 1/8 in. (13.5 × 7.9 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 5 3/8 × 3 1/4 in. (13.7 × 8.3 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: recto, stamped in black ink: P.L. (Lugt 2092); verso, stamped in purple ink: FL [separated by a crowned shield] (Lugt 4398)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), London; Fürst von Liechtenstein; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 768, no. 5; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 164, no. 5; Kristeller 1907, no. 8; Borenius 1923, 103, no. 9; Mayor 1937, 195; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 199–200, no. 10; Washington 1973, 400–401; TIB, vol. 25 (G. Campagnola, no. 6); Zdanski 1992, 442, no. 25; Paris 1993, cat. 125; Rome 1995, cat. 73; Lambert 1999, 381, no. 704



3

Giulio Campagnola, Italian, c. 1482–after 1515
and Domenico Campagnola, Italian, c. 1500–1564

Shepherds in a Landscape, c. 1517

engraving, state ii/ii

platemark: 5 5/16 × 10 1/8 in. (13.5 × 25.7 cm)

sheet: 5 3/8 × 10 1/4 in. (13.7 × 26 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Graf Plessen, Nehnten, Germany; Christie's London, June 18, 1992, Lot 92; Carolyn Bullard, Dallas, TX, until 1992

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 770–71, no. 9; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 168, no. 9; Kristeller 1907, no. 9; Borenius 1923, 111, no. 16; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 196–97, no. 6; Washington 1973, 393, 410–13, cat. 150; TIB, vol. 25 (D. Campagnola, no. 9); Zdanski 1992, 450–51, no. 32; Paris 1993, cat. 133; Rome 1995, 296–97, cat. 78; Lambert 1999, no. 694

The work of Giulio Campagnola has long excited fascination as well as derision. Hailed as a prodigy for his command of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, lute playing, and poetry in addition to the visual arts, he eventually settled in Venice though his father had sought to place him at the art-friendly courts of Mantua and Ferrara.¹ In his prints he borrowed liberally, including from Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) and Giorgione (c. 1477–1510), which is the source of derision, since it gives the impression he was a “copyist.” Yet he has also been lauded as the most innovative printmaker of the Renaissance for his development of pointillist engraving, evident in the *Young Shepherd*, in which he modeled much of the composition using a pattern of tiny dots created with the sharp tip of the engraver’s burin (see also cats. 32–33).²

To anyone involved in the history of prints, the arguments about attribution and originality will seem all but irrelevant, first because one of the things that prints do is disseminate visual information that is not always the invention of the printmaker. Second, Giulio found a brilliant way to translate the effects of painted brushwork into engraving, that most rigid and linear of the print media. *Young Shepherd* combines line work and pointillist technique, or stippling. The young shepherd resting in the landscape with his flute, an older shepherd at his feet, mirrors two similar figures in Giorgione's painting *Il Tramonto* in the National Gallery, London, an example of the borrowing that has plagued Giulio's reputation.³ More critically it reveals him as a prescient printmaker transforming the latest innovations in Venetian painting—pastoral landscape subjects and an emphasis on brush over line—into a reproducible and mobile medium that had the power to broadcast those innovations well beyond the sphere of influence the paintings alone could have had.



Fig. 11. Giulio Campagnola, Italian, c. 1482–after 1515; *Landscape with Two Men Sitting Near a Grove of Trees*, n.d.; pen and brown ink; 5 1/4 × 10 3/16 in. (13.4 × 25.9 cm); Musée du Louvre, Paris Inv. 4648 recto

At an unknown date Giulio is said to have adopted a young Venetian artist of German parentage who is also known for his prints and drawings. Domenico Campagnola emerged in the next generation as a forceful collaborator with Titian (1485-90?-1576). Domenico's woodcuts and engravings borrow their graphic energy from the example of Titian, whose radical, choppy drawing style is succinctly captured in woodcuts such as *The Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea* of circa 1514/15. A side-by-side comparison of the divergent styles of Giulio and Domenico is on display in their unusual collaborative engraving, *Shepherds in a Landscape*, in which the younger artist's energetically engraved figures and trees on the left-hand side form an unexpected dialogue with Giulio's placid and delicately rendered hilly village scene. A drawing now given to Giulio (fig. 11) provides the starting point for the engraving, which it is assumed he began, perhaps before he fully developed his stippling technique, but then abandoned. How Domenico's contribution came about remains unclear, though the most agreed-upon speculation is that it dates to about 1517, coinciding with the known dates of Domenico's engraving activity, and it is supposed that he completed the plate, perhaps in homage to his adopted parent, after Giulio's presumed death around that same time.⁴

The subject matter of these engravings was also new, and it affirms a connection, however loose, between the Campagnolas, Giorgione, and Titian, who had similar drawing styles and whose drawings have long been attributed to one another. The contributions of Venice to the history of art include the reorientation of painting away from the Florentine focus on line drawing and history painting toward an emphasis on bold brushstroke and color and pastoral subjects, as in these engravings. These "low" subjects also had precedents in the writings of the Greek poet Theocritus and the Roman poet Virgil, whose legacy was strongly felt in his northern Italian homeland.⁵ EW



Section II: Allegory and Myth

Allegory and mythology were central to the work of Renaissance artists and authors, who borrowed from the ancients as they forged a distinctive new visual and literary culture. This section makes clear that this is a particular strength of the Weil collection. Allegory is a mode of expression that uses symbols and personifications to convey complex abstract concepts. Mythology, the belief system of antiquity that chronicled the lives of gods, goddesses, imaginary beings, and powerful mortals, played a major role alongside Christian themes in the visual vocabulary used by Renaissance artists. The pictorial allegories of the Renaissance tend to merge classical, mythological, Christian, and other contemporary concerns, and they are often derived from literary sources. Their meanings can be obscure to modern viewers, as they often were in their own time: the point of an allegorical image is that it needs to be carefully and thoroughly examined before it can be deciphered.

This section opens with one of the earliest printed illustrations for Dante's *Divine Comedy*, cementing the links between literature and the visual arts. Also included are personifications of justice and philosophy in the guise of female figures that were part of larger symbolic programs intended to instruct and guide viewers in the conduct of their lives. Prints by Giorgio Ghisi and Albrecht Dürer challenge viewers to decipher multiple layers of meaning, while mythological figures, such as the bronze satyrs, delight the eye and inspire observers to contemplate the relationship between the body and the mind.



4

attributed to Baccio Baldini, Italian, 1436–1487

Dante Lost in a Wood: Escaping and Meeting Virgil, illustration for Canto I from *The Divine Comedy* (Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, 1481)

engraving, only state

image: 3 3/4 × 6 3/4 in. (9.5 × 17.1 cm)

platemark: 3 13/16 × 6 13/16 in. (9.7 × 17.3 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 3 7/8 × 6 7/8 in. (9.8 × 17.5 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in black ink: V.W [circled] (Lugt 2539b);

stamped in purple ink: AB [in shield, with flower] (Lugt 79b); stamped in brown ink, W.S. (Lugt 2650)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: William Sharp (19th century), Manchester, UK; Valentin Weisbach (1843–1899), Berlin; Dr. Albert W. Blum (1882–1952), Switzerland and Short Hills, NJ; Sotheby's New York, May 14–16, 1992, Lot 20

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 1, 415; Carrington 1920, 373; Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, 110, A.V.2 no. 1; Phillips 1955, 64; TIB, vol. 24 (Baldini, no. 37); Dreyer 1984, 111–12; Dunlop 1993, 30; Nassar 1994, 31, 35; Lambert 1999, no. 182; Berlin-Rome-London 2000–2001, 327; Gilson 2005, 165

In his epic poem *The Divine Comedy*, Dante imagines himself traveling through Inferno, Purgatory, and Paradise in the days around Easter 1300. Completed by 1320 during Dante's political exile from his native Florence, the poem is the first canonical work of literature written in the Tuscan vernacular rather than Latin.¹ The first section, *Inferno*, opens with

the episode depicted in this engraving: Dante, lost in a forest, sees a mountain and attempts to climb it, but is driven back by wild beasts symbolizing the human sins that block his ascent to Paradise.² Dante then suddenly encounters the ancient Roman poet Virgil, author of the Latin epic *Aeneid*. This great classical predecessor becomes Dante's guide on his journey, the first of many surprises along the way.

The engraving follows the poem's opening lines quite closely. At left, a pensive Dante stands in profile, enveloped by an arboreal labyrinth. Dense, gnarled trees cast the forest in darkness (line 2 in the poem), while the trees thin to form a clearing at the center of the print, where we see Dante's figure again, now leaving the forest and gazing toward an unseen mountaintop (line 16). The mountain slope blocks off the bottom right corner of the scene, and one by one a panther, lion, and she-wolf descend from the mountaintop, the last forcing yet a third figure of Dante to run away with his back turned and his hands outstretched (lines 32–61). At the center of the print stands Virgil, who appears (line 62) and becomes Dante's guide through Inferno and into Purgatory.

The Divine Comedy was widely read in manuscript for more than a century before the printing press flourished in Europe, and it quickly became an extremely popular printed book, published in Italy in nine editions appearing between 1472 and 1481.³ This print is the first of a series of nineteen said to have been designed by Botticelli (1445–1510) and engraved by Baccio Baldini as illustrations for the first edition printed in Florence, Dante's hometown. This 1481 edition published by Nicolaus Laurentii featured an influential commentary by Florentine humanist Cristoforo Landino (1425–1498) who, unlike previous commentators, emphasized Dante's poetic explorations of his native dialect, culturally recuperating him as a great Florentine, despite his exile during his last two decades.⁴

Less than thirty years after the printing of the Gutenberg Bible, the idea of illustrating a printed book with engravings was very rare—and technically ambitious. The intaglio process of engraving, in which ink forced into the incised lines of the metal matrix must be transferred to the support, necessitates more pressure to print than the raised letters of movable type, and therefore requires a second run through a different kind of printing press. Combining these different techniques on the same page entailed a laborious process of printing each sheet of paper in two separate presses, one for the text in movable type and one for the engraved image (fig. 12). Most surviving copies of the book have only the first two

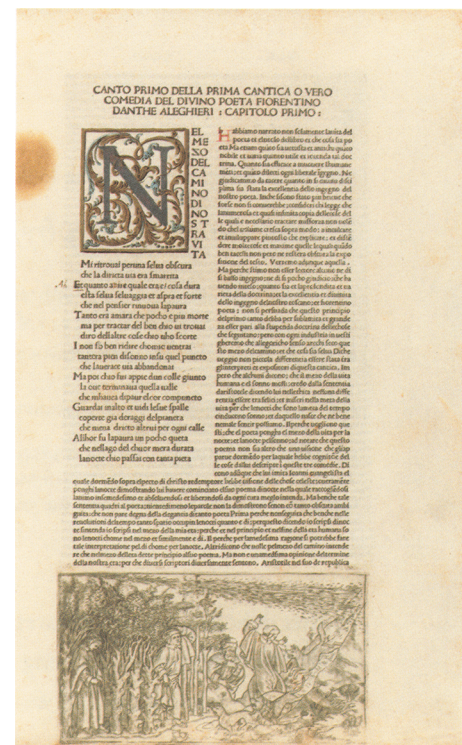


Fig. 12. Dante Alighieri, Italian, 1265–1321; Canto I, with hand-illuminated initial N, from *The Divine Comedy*, 1481; Houghton Library, Harvard University WKR 10.2.4

illustrations printed directly on the same page as the text, while the rest of the engravings were printed on separate sheets of paper, trimmed and pasted in later.⁵ The handsome Weil impression gives a particularly velvety gray nuance to the delicate shading characteristic of Florentine Fine Manner engraving, but since its verso shows neither printed text nor evident glue residue, it may never have been part of a copy of the 1481 book.⁶ Needless to say, it would take many more than nineteen pictures to fully illustrate all three parts of *The Divine Comedy*, including *Purgatory* and *Paradise* in addition to *Inferno*. Botticelli himself made nearly a hundred drawings on vellum—one for each canto of the poem—for another project, a manuscript commissioned by a Medici patron.⁷

Dante’s poem addresses the conceptual gap between what is narrated and what is perceived by using what theorist Gérard Genette would call an internal focalizer, in which the narrator’s voice is that of Dante as pilgrim.⁸ The engraving, however, cannot show Dante simultaneously as both narrator and character, but rather uses the traditional pictorial strategy of continuous narrative—what Genette might label external focalization—to present the character’s three appearances within a single frame. The positions of the three Dantes in the print—in full profile, in three-quarter view, and in a dramatic, twisted rear view—circle around to the frontal view of Virgil at the picture’s center, away from the mountain and its beasts. SHL and LP

5

Master of the E-Series Tarocchi, Italian

Philosofia (Philosophy), c. 1465

engraving with hand coloring, only state

sheet, trimmed: 7 × 3 15/16 in. (17.8 × 10 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne, until 2004

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 123, no. 28; Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, 237, no. E.I.28a; Washington 1973, 122, cat. 42; TIB, vol. 24 (Early Italian Masters, Various Subjects, no. 45-A); Trojani and Lambert 1985, vol. 2, 44; Cieri Via and Calandra 1992, 66; Lambert 1999, no. 304; Chicago 2011, 34–37

In this delicately hand-colored engraving, *Philosofia* appears wearing an armor breastplate over a flowing gown, bearing a lance and shield with the head of Medusa in imitation of Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom. It is one of a series of fifty small-scale prints referred to as *Tarocchi*, or tarot cards, which, however, mimics a tarot set neither in subject nor in the size of the “deck.”¹ The fifty prints, each showing a single figure, are organized into five groups of ten, personifying concepts such as the ranks of men, the muses, the liberal arts, the virtues, and the planets. Each print carries the letter of its group (or suit), in this case C, and its title paired with its sequential number within the fifty prints in both Roman and Arabic numerals (here 28), thereby assigning a very precise sequence to the set.



The exact sources, meanings, and functions of these prints are lost to us, yet the distinctive, idiosyncratic classification system of the series bears testament to the melding of ancient, medieval, and modern thought that fueled the arts of the period, and many links can be made to literature, painting, architecture, and sculpture. The series formulates a concept of the structure of the universe, encompassing the realms of man and the gods. The prints, which are inherently didactic, may have been intended as educational, whether to be played as a game or simply as visual memory aids.²

Philosophia fits into the set's third grouping (labeled C), a variation on the seven liberal arts, the basis of educational systems from antiquity into the Renaissance, which include grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, music, and poetry, here augmented by philosophy, astrology, and theology.³ Indeed, philosophy was a step above the liberal arts in the context of early modern education, in which learning progressed step-by-step, with each newly acquired art building on those previously secured. Knowledge of the seven liberal arts was thus a prerequisite for philosophy, and "Lady Philosophy" likewise oversaw the progress of the other arts.⁴ *Philosophia*'s military accoutrements might seem odd in the context of higher thought, yet the link to Athena (or Minerva), goddess of wisdom and war, is apt—perhaps even more so in the context of mid-sixteenth-century Italian court culture.

This impression is printed in a fluid gray ink, as is characteristic of the earliest and most desirable examples, which are frequently toned with a wash of light gold-tinted pigment as in this case. The Museum's collection includes the muse Clio in a similarly fine impression.⁵ EW

6

Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Italian, active c. 1490–1525
after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

Alma Justicia (Justice), n.d.

engraving, only state

sheet, trimmed: 12 7/16 × 6 13/16 in. (31.6 × 17.3 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; Christie's London, December 12, 1985, Lot 54; Artemis Fine Arts, New York and London, until 1999

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 566; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 106, no. 18; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 39, no. 11; Washington 1973, 236, 244; TIB, vol. 25 (Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, no. 18); Lambert 1999, no. 441

This image of a formidable but pensive figure of Justice bears the initials of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (IO. AN. BX. for the Latin form of his name, Ioannes Antonius Brixianus). The artist is best known as an engraver of compositions after Andrea Mantegna, although it is unclear whether he worked directly with Mantegna.¹ It has been suggested that he lived in Rome during the latter part of his career, judging from his engravings of ancient Roman statuary, which he could only have seen there.² Mantegna was also briefly in Rome, commissioned by Pope Innocent VIII in 1488 to paint frescoes in the Vatican's Belvedere Palace, and the present engraving may be a felicitous combination of the engraver's associations with Mantua and Rome, since it is thought to reproduce one of the virtues from Mantegna's Vatican frescoes, which were destroyed in the late eighteenth century.³



As in *Philosophia* (cat. 5), the abstract concept of justice is personified by a single female figure wearing an armorlike dress, which she also shares with the sword-wielding Judith in the Museum's painting by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574).⁴ She wears a crown and is seated, enhancing the massiveness of her figure, not unlike Michelangelo's Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel, which would likely have been known to Giovanni Antonio.

Justice is one of the four cardinal virtues known from antiquity, along with prudence, temperance, and fortitude. The now-ubiquitous blindfold, sword, and balance only appeared as her attributes from the mid-sixteenth century, but she is recognizable even in her earliest appearances, as in a description by a twelfth-century author who noted her "solemn dignity and her face expressing sadness," which could also describe Giovanni Antonio's engraving.⁵ Influential fourteenth-century frescoes by Giotto and Ambrogio Lorenzetti show equally magisterial enthroned women, and the double-sided sword in the right hand of Giovanni Antonio's *Justice* also became a regular feature at that time.⁶ In her left hand Justice holds a compass or a caliper against her thigh, an attribute that rarely appears in other representations.⁷ Whereas the sword signifies swift, lethal justice and protection, the tool of measurement—like the more common scale—indicates the measured side of Justice, who ponders a situation before taking action. The print's inscription, "Alma Justicia," with the Latin *alma* meaning "nourishing/kind" or "blessed/holy," suggests a restorative rather than a retributive justice, or—especially relevant in the Vatican context—ecclesiastical justice or canon law.⁸ EW

7

attributed to Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Italian, active c. 1490–1525
after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

Virtus Combusta (Allegory of the Fall of Humanity) and Virtus Deserta (Allegory of the Redemption of Humanity), c. 1500–1505

engravings, upper plate: only state; lower plate: state i/ii

upper platemark: 11 3/4 × 17 1/16 in. (29.8 × 43.3 cm)

upper sheet: 12 × 17 5/16 in. (30.5 × 44 cm)

lower sheet, trimmed: 11 3/4 × 17 1/8 in. (29.8 × 43.5 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Samuel Josefowitz, Lausanne, until 2004

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Förster 1901, 78–87; Kristeller 1901, no. 134; Borenius 1923, 43–44, nos. 16–17; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 27–29, no. 22; Panofsky 1956, 44–47; Dwyer 1970–71, 58–62; Washington 1973, 222–27, cat. 84; TIB, vol. 25 (Zoan Andrea, nos. 16–17); Massing 1990, 179–86, no. 67; London-New York 1992, cat. 148 (this impression); Lambert 1999, nos. 426–27; Paris 2008, 348–49, cats. 146–47; London-Florence 2010–11, 140

Mythical beings, grotesque creatures, and bizarre allegorical figures inhabit this enigmatic and monumental engraving on two sheets derived from a design by Andrea Mantegna.¹ The drawing for the upper part of the composition, *Virtus Combusta*, is now housed in the



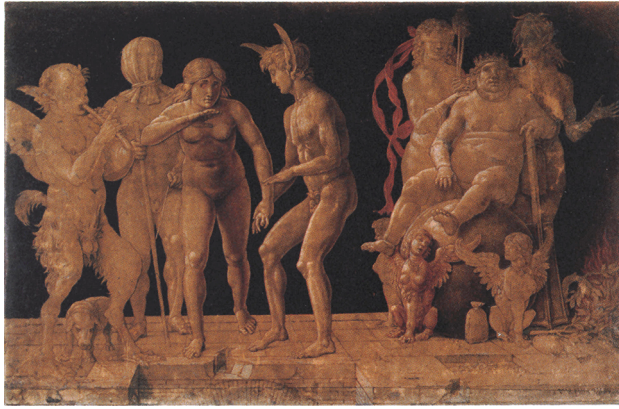


Fig. 13. Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506; *Virtus Combusta*, 1490–1506; pen and brown ink with brown and red wash, heightened with white, with a black over red background on buff paper; 11 1/4 × 17 3/8 in. (28.6 × 44.1 cm); British Museum, London



Fig. 14. Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506; *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, 1500–1502; oil on canvas; 63 × 75 9/16 in. (160 × 192 cm); Musée du Louvre, Paris

British Museum (fig. 13), but no drawing survives of the lower half, *Virtus Deserta*.² This subject can be understood in the context of the struggle of virtue against vice, which occupied Mantegna throughout his career.³ Here he seems to have drawn from multiple sources, combining references in a way that could be interpreted by erudite viewers at the time, and has only become more difficult to decipher since.⁴

Mantegna's design dates from sometime between 1490 and 1506, at the beginning of the reign of the precocious Isabella d'Este as Marchesa of Mantua, who arrived from Ferrara in 1490 at age seventeen as the new wife of Francesco Gonzaga. Isabella surrounded herself with the greatest humanist scholars, writers, and artists of the day, and, through her patronage

of the arts, played an important role in the ongoing transformation of Mantua into a vibrant cultural center. In 1495, she began an ambitious decorative plan for her *studiolo*, a small, private space dedicated to reading and contemplation. Isabella and her advisers commissioned many prominent artists to create paintings that were both intellectually sophisticated and beautiful.⁵

Mantegna's second of two paintings for Isabella's *studiolo*, *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue* (fig. 14), focuses on virtue versus ignorance, depicting Pallas Minerva triumphantly casting out allegorical figures of the vices from an arcaded grove.⁶ Mantegna seemed to derive his imagery from both classical and contemporary sources—from Ovid to Leon Battista Alberti to Mantuan poetry—and garnered praise for presenting a complex philosophical idea in clear visual terms.⁷

While *Minerva* has been lauded for its clarity, *Virtus Combusta* and *Virtus Deserta* present more complicated iconography. *Virtus Combusta*, or “virtue consumed,” depicts figures similar to those in *Minerva*, including an obese woman seated on a globe flanked by two other women, a man with the ears of an ass, a man with his head in a bag and a dog on a leash, a grotesque satyr, and a nude young woman. Despite attempts by scholars to identify these figures based on literary sources, they remain unclear. The corpulent figure is believed to be Ignorance, while the old, emaciated figure is Avarice, and the blindfolded figure is Ingratitude, but they have also been viewed collectively as Fortune. The remaining figures in the top image represent other vices, who surround the young woman and seem to push her closer to the ledge overlooking the pit below. Each has been identified in various ways, yet they all depict vice manipulating, and ultimately consuming, the virtuous.⁸

Virtus Deserta, or “virtue deserted,” illustrates what becomes of the fallen souls from the upper portion when virtue is gone. A human-tree hybrid on the left represents Daphne, a nymph who transformed into a laurel tree after being pursued by Apollo. A similar figure is seen in *Minerva*, and in both painting and print, Daphne is depicted as half human, half tree, unlike most Renaissance images where she is just starting to transform. In *Minerva*, Daphne's metamorphosis seems to suggest virtue's triumph over fortune, but the print tells a different story.⁹ Here she represents “deserted virtue,” her plight reflected by the pit of tangled bodies in the center. Yet for one man salvation seems possible, through the figure of Mercury—the god of the arts and ally of virtue—who reaches to help him escape the pit. This point is made explicit by the inscription under Daphne reading “Virtuti S. A. I” (*Virtuti Semper Adversatur Ignorantia*, or Ignorance is always opposed by Virtue).¹⁰

The present example is striking for its scale and quality. It was engraved on opposite sides of the same plate, then printed on two sheets and mounted together, with the intention of the two prints forming one monumental image—not unlike Mantegna's earlier *Battle of the Sea Gods*, which was also engraved in two parts to create a friezelike design. This particular impression was part of the rich and varied Josefowitz collection, and was featured in the Mantegna retrospective exhibition of 1992 in New York and London. AY



8

Master of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, Italian, active 1510–1520

Allegorical Theme: Combat of the Animals, c. 1511–20

engraving, only state

platemark: 8 3/4 × 12 7/16 in. (22.2 × 31.6 cm)

sheet: 8 7/8 × 12 9/16 in. (22.5 × 31.9 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1987

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Robert-Dumesnil 1835–71, vol. 5, no. 61 (Duvet); Passavant 1860–64, vol. 6, no. 256 (Jean Duvet); Galichon 1865, 550–51; Hind 1910, no. 2; Kristeller 1913, 21–22; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 98, no. 2; Hébert 1972, 6–7; Washington 1973, cat. 159; TIB, vol. 13 (Duvet, no. 44); Zurich 1998, cat. 98; Lambert 1999, no. 526

Against a rocky outcropping, a pack of beasts engages in a series of attacks: a rearing bear bites into the winding neck of a dragon with a human torso, which in turn chomps into the mane of a lion roaring in pain. The lion's mate approaches from the left, while a powerfully built unicorn lunges from the right to stab the dragon's armpit with its horn. It is unclear how the boar emerging from the outcropping fits in, but its presence affirms the symbolic intent of this array of animals.

A small drawing by Leonardo da Vinci (fig. 15) has long been identified as the model for the engraving.¹ The man on the right of the drawing is fully clothed and makes a three-quarter turn toward the animals as he points a large disk at them, whereas the man on the left-hand side of the engraving (the composition was reversed in the process of making the print) is seen in more static profile, wearing only a piece of drapery. Both figures point disks with emanating rays in the direction of the fighting animals. In the drawing the disk reflects the blazing sun visible in the sky, confirming that the round objects in both instances are convex mirrors, the men thus redirecting the sun's rays at the animals. Since the animals remain oblivious, it is not clear what the goal of the action is.

Mirrors, which have since antiquity generated lively literary and scientific interest, have been associated with virtue and vice, truth and deception. A mirror provides a reflection of the natural world, its image reflected in reverse, the effect both temporary and illusory. On another level, a mirror may also reflect the divine, which accorded it power as a talisman to ward off evil.² Convex mirrors have their own historiography, and Leonardo wrote about the use of such mirrors by hunters, specifically tiger hunters in India, who would trick a mother tiger into thinking that the reversed and reduced image she saw in a convex mirror was her cub, and take advantage of her fascination with her own image to abduct her cub.³

The sun being reflected and redirected at the animals also recalls one of Leonardo's scientific preoccupations, convex burning mirrors.⁴ This method of generating fire had been used by the ancient Greeks, but whereas Archimedes was (apocryphally) said to have set fire to a fleet of enemy ships with convex mirrors, Leonardo seems to have been interested in the work that burning mirrors could accomplish in his workshop, including the soldering of metal.⁵



Fig. 15. Leonardo da Vinci, Italian, 1452–1519; *Allegory with Solar Mirror*, n.d.; pen and brown ink with metalpoint; 4 15/16 × 4 15/16 in. (12.5 × 12.5 cm); Musée du Louvre, Paris Inv. 2247 recto

This is not, however, a scientific image, and the elegant nude man in the engraving does not appear to be trying to burn the animals; some scholars argue that he is using the mirror's talismanic properties, perhaps shielding himself from the deadly breath of the dragon.⁶ No single categorical explanation of Leonardo's drawing or the print has been identified, although it must have been intended as a learned rumination on the nature of virtue and vice, perhaps with Milanese political overtones, as some have argued.⁷

Each animal has its own symbolic meaning, from the fierce, noble lion known as the king of beasts to the angry bear, the satanic dragon, and the unicorn. That elusive beast, the unicorn, whose savage side dominates Dürer's etching of the same decade (cat. 111), was known also to succumb to the purity of maidens, and was an Old Testament counterpart to Christ.⁸

The print's engraver is unknown, and it was associated with German, French, and Venetian schools on the basis of its technique before scholars recognized the link to Leonardo's drawing and suggested that the print could thus be associated with the Sforza court in Milan.⁹ This unnamed engraver's painterly approach is particularly evident in the Weil impression, which is printed in a luminous gray ink. His delicate and attentive approach to the variety of tones and textures of human skin, animal anatomy and fur, and the rocky terrain is very much on display, and although it may not convey the fluid inventiveness of Leonardo's hand, the print is a striking example of early sixteenth-century engraving that anticipates the painter-etchers of the following decades. EW

9

Baccio Baldini, Italian, 1436–1487

Bear Hunt, c. 1470

engraving, only state

sheet, trimmed: 11 3/16 × 7 15/16 in. (28.4 × 20.2 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in graphite: Coll. Storck Milan

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Giuseppe Storck (1766–1836), Milan; probably Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771–1823), Sledmere House and Settrington; Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London; Hodgson and Graves, London; Thomas Barwick Lloyd Baker (1807–1886); Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire; Miss Olive Lloyd Baker (1902–1975), by descent; Sotheby's London, June 29, 1965, Lot 42; Richard Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 1, 455; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 190, no. 104; Kristeller 1896, 139; Hind 1910, 46, A.II.12; Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, A.II.17; TIB, vol. 24 (Commentary, Baldini, no. 115)

A man and his five dogs work in concert in chaotic yet carefully choreographed harmony in this hunt scene, which shows the hunter planting his spear for the kill. The powerful bear will not go down easily, and at least one of the hounds receives a serious, perhaps mortal wound on his neck.¹ Hunt scenes had appeared in late medieval art, including manuscript



illuminations and tapestries, from the boar and bear hunt tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1425–30), in which the emphasis is on courtly behavior, to the famous unicorn series at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1495–1505), with its clearly Christian symbolism.² This engraving fits into the former, secular category, and provides the modern-day viewer with a wealth of information about the practice of hunting in late medieval and Renaissance Europe, while also surely carrying a moral message that can be read into the activity and the actors.

That the hunting of bears was generally more about blood sport than about putting meat on the table is suggested by the ritualized solo hunter driving his spear into the beast, which is suitably distracted by the well-trained, muscular dogs that surround it and seek to immobilize it with the brute strength of their jaws and haunches. The early modern European aristocratic hunt revolved around the aid of such specialized dogs, whose job it was to track down the game, and then herd it into a suitable place for the kill.³ Early sixteenth-century depictions of stag hunts by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) show another, later variety of extreme hunting, in which as many deer as possible were forced into a body of water, where all would be slaughtered for a subsequent feast. In other situations, dogs would drive a chosen animal toward a pack of archers, whereas birds of prey were called into service for hunting small game such as rabbits and partridge.

By contrast, the bear was a formidable foe, testing the skill, strength, and stamina of a single hunter paired with his dogs. While this engraving provides evidence of mid-quattrocento interest in this type of hunt, it is likely to have invited a deeper interpretation by contemporary viewers beyond the seemingly straightforward description of a bear hunt's climactic moment—even if the message was not as complex as the allegorical *Combat of the Animals* (cat. 8). One might see, for example, the nobility of the warrior-hunter, aided by his canine partners, as he conquers the deadly sin of anger, the symbolism most commonly attributed to the bear. A fourteenth-century French hunting manuscript speaks disparagingly of the behavior of the chased bear, which was apparently slow and deliberate in contrast with the unpredictable and more aggressive boar.⁴

A nobler and more virtuous counterpart to the bear hunt would be the story of Saint Eustace, the Roman soldier, whose conversion to Christianity while on a stag hunt was depicted by Antonello Pisanello (c. 1438–42, National Gallery, London) as well as by Albrecht Dürer (c. 1501; fig. 3). Eustace's moment of conversion occurred when a vision of the crucified Christ appeared between the antlers of the noble beast he was stalking. The five elegant dogs arrayed around Dürer's Eustace are righteous cousins to the bear hunter's equal number of a stockier, more brutish variety in the present engraving (fig. 16).



Fig. 16. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *Saint Eustace*, detail, c. 1501: engraving; 13 15/16 × 10 3/16 in. (35.4 × 25.9 cm); Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 255:1916 (see fig. 3, page 23)

The *Bear Hunt* is attributed to the Florentine goldsmith and engraver Baccio Baldini, one of the earliest Italian engravers whose name comes down to us, who we believe also engraved the illustrations for Nicolaus Laurentii's 1481 edition of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (cat. 4). This is one of three known surviving impressions of the *Bear Hunt* (the others in London and Rome are similarly well-worn). The print is rare today, but at least two adaptations of the motif suggest a certain popularity in its day: the equally scarce engraving from the set of so-called Otto prints in the British Museum, which are in the form of roundels and set within decorative borders; and the image is repeated in a majolica platter formerly in the Berlin Museum, testimony to the phenomenon of borrowing that prints made possible well beyond the circulation of individual models moving among artists' and artisans' workshops.⁵ EW



SEDET AETERNVM
QVE SEDEBIT FOELIX

RAPHAELIS VRBINATIS INVENTVM.
PHILIPPVS DATVS ANIMI GRATIA
FIERI IVSSIT.



TV NE CEDE MALIS: SED
CÔTRA ADVENTIOR ITO



IO

Giorgio Ghisi, Italian, 1520–1582

Allegory of Life, 1561

engraving; state ii(a)/vi

image: 14 7/8 × 21 3/16 in. (37.8 × 53.8 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 15 × 21 1/4 in. (38.1 × 54 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Artemis Fine Arts, New York and London, until 1989

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: d'Arco 1840, 107, no. 35; Mariette 1968, 372; Rome 1980, 150–51, cat. 214; Albricci 1983; Boorsch and Lewis 1985, 114–20, no. 28; TIB, vol. 31 (Ghisi, no. 67); Tomory 1992, 165–75; Bellini 1998, 180–91, cat. 41; Toccaceli 2005

Giorgio Ghisi's *Allegory of Life* was long known as the *Dream of Raphael*, acknowledging its dreamlike iconography and the engraved inscription in the lower left corner attributing it to Raphael (1483–1520). It is an understatement to call it dense and multilayered. Although a substantial body of literature seeks to decode its meaning, this most celebrated of Ghisi's prints remains an enigma, a complex allegory that borrows from numerous sources and resists a clear-cut reading.¹

Scholars agree that the older man left of center was modeled after the figure of the philosopher directly beneath the statue of Minerva in Raphael's *School of Athens* (1509–11) in the Vatican, a fresco Ghisi knew intimately, having produced a two-plate engraving after it that Hieronymus Cock published in Antwerp in 1550 (fig. 17).² The woman at the right may derive from the goddess of the hunt, Diana, as seen on the obverse of a medal dedicated to Ippolita Gonzaga (fig. 18). Her similarity to the figure of Pallas in Andrea Mantegna's painting commissioned in the late 1490s by Ippolita's grandmother Isabella d'Este for her Mantuan *studiolo* (fig. 19) is also compelling, as it adds the association with Pallas, or Minerva, combining wisdom and the arts with Diana's attributes as chaste huntress.

Four inscriptions provide clues to the print's origins and meaning, including the prominent artist's signature and the date 1561 on the rudderless boat,



Fig. 17. Giorgio Ghisi, Italian, 1520–1582; after Raphael, Italian, 1483–1520; *The School of Athens*, detail, 1550; engraving printed from two plates; 20 3/16 × 31 7/8 in. (51.3 × 81 cm); British Museum, London



Fig. 18. Leone Leoni, Italian, 1509–1590; *Ippolita Gonzaga as Diana*, 1551; bronze; diameter: 2 5/8 in. (6.7 cm); Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1975.1.1278



Fig. 19. Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506; *Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, detail, 1500–1502; oil on canvas; Musée du Louvre, Paris (see fig. 14, page 56)

and in the lower left the reference to both Raphael as inventor and to an unidentified Philip, who commissioned it. The other two inscriptions are from the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*: “The unhappy one sits and will sit forever,” below the central male figure, and “Do not yield to adversities, but go out to meet them bravely.”³ Virgil was a revered native of Mantua, but despite these inscriptions the engraving remains cryptic: it borrows no more than the single male figure from Raphael, and although sympathetic to descriptions of the underworld in Virgil's text, it does not illustrate the *Aeneid* in any straightforward way.⁴

Numerous literary links have been identified, including to Dante's, Homer's, and Michelangelo's poetry, and noted visual sources include Luca Penni, Jean Duvet, Hieronymus Bosch, and Peter Bruegel the Elder, emphasizing the importance of the landscape and the fantastic elements that threaten to overwhelm it. The most well-received—yet hardly definitive—interpretation remains that of Gioconda Albricci, who called it “a transposition into a philosophical key of the allegory of human life,” in which the man, having wrecked the boat of his life voyage, is saved by the female figure of reason.⁵ The hopeful message—human life gone astray saved by faith—is widely accepted, but beyond that, interpretations reference a range of sources from the *Aeneid* and Neoplatonism to temptation and alchemy, most linking the work to a Mantuan context.⁶

Although Ghisi eventually returned to his native Mantua, he spent much of his adult life elsewhere, notably in Rome, Antwerp, and Paris. In Antwerp, he enrolled as an engraver in the Saint Luke's Guild in 1551, at a time when northern artists flooded Italy, but Italian artists rarely ventured north.⁷ By 1561, Ghisi was active in Paris, where most scholars agree he produced the *Allegory of Life*.⁸ Although the engraving contains clear references to Ghisi's birthplace, including the Virgilian inscriptions and the Diana figure, in its detail it also ranges widely. It is not a wholesale reproduction of a Raphael as the inscription seems to claim, and even the "commissioner" has remained steadfastly elusive. "Philippus Datus" appears in an eighteenth-century dictionary of artists, yet it has not even been determined whether he was French or Italian.⁹

The copper plate itself had a peripatetic life. An unfinished proof impression of the print survives in the British Museum: it demonstrates that Ghisi planned for only one inscription, at the feet of the old man, meaning he had to burnish out the image to add the three additional inscriptions in the second state. Later states record the ownership of four different print publishers, from Paris to Haarlem and Antwerp.¹⁰ The rich black chiaroscuro so evident in the Weil impression dulled in these later states to a monotonous gray, yet the presence of so many editions of the plate underscores its enduring appeal. EW

II

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528

Abduction on a Unicorn, 1516

etching, only state

image: 12 × 8 1/4 in. (30.5 × 21 cm)

platemark: 12 1/8 × 8 3/8 in. (30.8 × 21.3 cm)

sheet: 12 1/4 × 8 7/16 in. (31.1 × 21.4 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in brown ink: Kunsthalle Bremen [with a key; circled] (Lugt 292a); stamped in brown ink: Doublette der Kunsthalle Bremen [in square] (Lugt 292–93)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Kunsthalle Bremen (duplicate); David Tunick, Inc., New York, until 1995

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wölfflin 1905, 202; Meder 1932, no. 67; Panofsky 1939, 85; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 190ff, 196; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 179; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 67); Poesch 1964, 78–82; Boston 1971, cats. 194 and 195; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 524; Washington 1971, cat. 67; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 72); Schoch 2001, no. 83; Rome 2007, cat. III.3

After he completed his three master engravings (cats. 48–50), Albrecht Dürer entered a phase of his career in which he increasingly eschewed the more calculated approach to proportion and perspective he used in earlier works (cats. 30, 45, 46). Many of the prints and drawings he made in this period exude a pronounced calligraphic flourish and a freer, more temperamental line, including the six etchings he produced between 1515 and 1518.

Dürer appears to have valued etching, then a recent German invention, as a platform for experimentation. *Abduction on a Unicorn* exemplifies the innovation and expressive brio that typified his forays into this technique. The subject is an abduction scene, a motif found in several of his earlier works as well. Riding a shaggy unicorn at full gallop is a naked man whose hirsute features recall the sexually voracious wild men of medieval folklore, said to be among the few capable of domesticating this legendarily fierce creature.¹ Under his arm is a full-figured young woman he has carried off against her will, her eyes and mouth petrified by fear. They speed over an ominous terrain that seems almost sentient, as in the stone outcropping that lurches forward from the background.²

The most dramatic motif, however, is the unicorn, a creature that rarely appears in Dürer's oeuvre, and which is here anything but the gentle and diminutive entity he had recently drawn in the margins of Maximilian's 1515 *Prayerbook*, where it is thought to symbolize Christ.³ While cloven hooves and goatish features often appear in descriptions of the creature, here they confer a devilish aura—an association made all the more vivid through Dürer's treatment of the unicorn's horn, which resembles a blade rather than the narwhal's horn of late-medieval iconography. The horn appears to pierce the image margin, subtly reinforcing the specter of sexual violence. This is in stark, seemingly deliberate contrast to the chaste descriptions of the unicorn so commonly found in medieval translations of the *Physiologus*, in which the unicorn is said to be attracted to virgin maidens and, upon finding one, will lay its head down in her lap to slumber.⁴

Dürer's *Abduction* has been variously interpreted on the basis of specific literary narratives, including the mythical rape of Proserpina, as well as a tale illustrated in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* wherein the devil nabs a notorious English witch.⁵ Yet the etching ultimately seems to resist any attempt at definitive interpretation, instead demonstrating Dürer's syncretistic sensibilities, and evolving in large part through improvisation. Indeed, the preparatory drawing he used to trace much of his design into the etching ground, now in the Morgan Library, reveals evidence of changes made during the etching process, altering the tenor of the final composition: in the drawing, for example, the rider's mount is still an ordinary horse of considerably less threatening habitus.⁶ The ground is littered with body parts, including the corpse of a woman whose absurdly ample proportions evince the same carefree handling that resurfaces in the etching in the awkward fusion of rider and quarry, as well as in the abducted woman's peculiar torsion.⁷

While Dürer may have relished the expressive freedom etching afforded him, he was also quick to abandon it. Early etching employed iron rather than copper plates, which made the biting process very unpredictable. The Weil impression is nonetheless exceptional, with only the slightest signs of rust. LMC



Cat. 11

Centaur, n.d.

engraving, only state

sheet, trimmed: 6 9/16 × 4 3/8 in. (16.7 × 11.1 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in black ink: FL [separated by a crowned shield] (Lugt 4398)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Fürst von Liechtenstein; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 525; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 187, no. 45; TIB, vol. 25 (Montagna, no. 19); Lambert 1999, no. 685

The alarming sight of a centaur—a hybrid of horse and man—carrying a woman on his back while fighting a dragon presents an enigma. This print is little studied, and no source has been suggested: is the centaur abducting the woman, recalling the taking of the Lapith bride that started the Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs (or Albrecht Dürer's *Abduction on a Unicorn*, cat. 11), or is he saving her from the dragon, as Perseus rescued Andromeda from the sea monster, or Saint George saved the princess? The print seems to form a pair with Benedetto's *Disputed Nymph*, in which a young knight attempts to wrest the same woman from the centaur.¹

Indeed, centaurs come in many varieties, including the licentious type depicted on the Parthenon as well as its opposite.² In the best-known myth concerning the origin of centaurs, Ixion lusted after Hera but was tricked into mating with Nephele, who conceived a child from the union. This son mated with mountain mares, spawning the race of wild centaurs eventually defeated by the Lapiths. At the other extreme, the learned and kind centaur Chiron was entrusted with the education of the infant Achilles. Other centaurs include Nessus, who bore Hercules's wife Deianira across a river—both Chiron and Nessus patrol the river of blood in Dante's seventh circle of Hell (*Inferno*, Canto 12, lines 65–114)—as well as the helpful centaur who led Saint Anthony to Saint Paul in the desert.

Benedetto Montagna was the son of the painter Bartolomeo Montagna, the primary artist of the early cinquecento in the northern Italian city of Vicenza.³ Benedetto's uncle, Baldessera, may have been a goldsmith, which could explain his engraving skills.⁴ His prints are largely derivative—notably of his father and Dürer—yet his prominently engraved signature suggests a level of pride unusual for his time, making even Dürer's grand initials seem discreet. Many of the connections between Benedetto's engravings and his sources are generic—emulating Dürer's close parallel hatch marks and distinctive landscapes, for example—but he also engraved copies of six Dürer prints, including a roughly executed but essentially faithful copy of the *Nativity* (cat. 30).⁵ EW

BENEDETO
MONTAGNA





Satyr Seated on a Tree Stump with Inkwell and Candleholder, c. 1530

bronze with a high copper content, chocolate bronze natural patina with traces of black-brown paint or varnish
 7 1/8 × 5 × 5 in. (18.1 × 12.7 × 12.7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Michael Hall Fine Arts, New York, until 1996

Satyrs were hybrid beings, invented by the Greeks in the sixth century BCE to represent woodland creatures, conceived as the antithesis of civilized city dwellers.¹ Half human and half goat, they were generally given to licentious playfulness if not overt sexuality. Formed with a human torso and the hindquarters, hooves, and tail of a goat, they also had animalistic ears and horns. They populated many Renaissance paintings and prints, and were especially popular as small-scale sculptures that were used as ornaments on the desks or in the libraries of humanist scholars. Seated on a tree stump and about to dip a shell into an open wine vessel, this fanciful creature served the practical function of both an inkwell (the wine vessel) and a candleholder (the cornucopia).

This satyr's oversize and drooping ears, as well as his open-mouthed expression and unfocused gaze, may be intended to represent inebriation, typical of a creature whose human tendencies have been overcome by his base animal nature. He dips his shell cup to retrieve more wine, while his right hand holds a cornucopia, a symbol of abundance and perhaps a commentary on his own lack of control. The figure may, therefore, have resonated for intellectuals immersed in Neoplatonic philosophy, where the struggle between the divinely oriented soul and the earthbound body informed many scholarly discussions.

This bronze is known in only one other version in The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, where the wine receptacle is somewhat larger and the satyr holds a less decorative dipper.² A related sculptural type, with the wine vessel on the right side and the cornucopia on the left, smaller ears, and circular horns, exists in two examples, one in the Linsky Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a second in the Louvre.³ There are undoubtedly more of each type to be discovered, given their general popularity and the inherent appeal of these comical figures.

Traditionally, they have been traced to designs from the workshop of Andrea Briosco (1470–1532), called Andrea Riccio, one of the most well-known bronze artists in Padua in the early sixteenth century. This bronze exhibits little evidence of the more finely tooled surface and defined musculature of the satyrs associated with Riccio. There are a number of casting flaws throughout, including a loss in the left earlobe, a break in the upper left arm, and an air bubble on the back. Phoebe Weil noted that the presence of cracks in the circular base suggests that it was cast separately and then attached to the seated figure. JWM

I4

workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, Italian, active c. 1496–c. 1543

Kneeling Satyr, early 16th century

bronze

8 × 6 5/16 × 3 1/2 in. (20.3 × 16 × 8.9 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Sotheby's London, October 28, 2004, Lot 17; Salander O'Reilly Galleries, New York, until 2005

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Sotheby's London 2004b, 34–35, Lot 17

Padua in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was a major center for the production of small bronze sculpture. The site of a respected university known for its teachers of Aristotelian philosophy, the city boasted ancient origins. Humanist scholars modeled themselves after their antique forebears and were inspired by the Roman author Pliny's accounts of the importance of bronze collecting among Hellenistic patrons, prompting an appreciation and therefore a market for bronze vessels and small statuettes. These were objects of artistic and technical merit whose very form evoked the classical texts that humanist scholars savored.

One of the most active Paduan workshops was that of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna. In 1504, the Neapolitan humanist and theorist Pomponius Gauricus, who lived in Padua, wrote a treatise on sculpture. In the section on bronze work, he cited Severo da Ravenna, listing him last in order to accord him greatest honor. The artist was born in Ravenna and moved to Padua in 1496 where he eventually established an active workshop famous for its small-scale bronzes.

The Weil *Kneeling Satyr* represents one of the most popular subjects that Severo's workshop produced. A good number of other versions of this particular type are known.¹ The satyr's kneeling pose with the right hoof forward and the left leg angled diagonally toward the right side was designed to sit upon a triangular base. The original screw thread that attached the left knee to the base still exists. Most often conceived to serve as inkwells or candleholders, these figures hold any of a variety of implements including decorative shells, urns, cornucopias, and rustic buckets (see cat. 13). Examples that retain their original base include a shell or other ink receptacle at the satyr's side that was undoubtedly the case for the current example. The pricket in the satyr's right hand is a later addition that replaced some form of candleholder.

Severo's workshop had a distinct method of casting, resulting in square-shaped plugs, visible in x-rays, which can be detected in bronzes made there.² The Weil example has these plugs. One particularly noteworthy feature, the raised pupils in the eyes of the satyr, reflects Severo's personal style.³ The precise and decorative handling of the fur on the satyr's legs as well as the elongated and carefully defined hooves attest to the quality of this piece. JWM





I 5
Italian, 16th century

Study of Pan, after the antique, n.d.

pen, brown ink, and wash over traces of black chalk

sheet: 16 13/16 × 8 1/8 in. (42.7 × 20.6 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: recto, stamped in black ink: R (Lugt 2184); stamped in black ink: P.L (Lugt 2092); verso, written in brown ink: M. Angelo/[6?].3.; written in brown ink: Bald[i]sarre; written in brown ink: [3 lines of illegible, partially abraded handwriting cut off at the left edge]

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), London; W. Gibson; Jonathan Richardson Sr. (1667–1745); Sotheby's London, November 25, 1971, Lot 62, as Bartolomeo Passarotti; David Peel; Christie's London, July 2, 1985, Lot 58, attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi; Salamander Fine Arts Ltd., London, until 2006

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010, no. 71a

The rediscovery and appreciation of ancient sculpture, particularly in Rome, formed the backbone of the period we now call the Italian Renaissance, as evidenced throughout this exhibition. The present drawing of a Roman sculpture—which itself copied a Greek prototype—demonstrates one of the primary ways artists learned from the sculptures, and it also shows how forms and ideas were disseminated, assimilated, and recombined to create new works.

This drawing and the sculpture it records have generally been identified as Pan, the Greek deity of nature associated with shepherds and Dionysian pleasure, though this designation is not entirely certain.¹ The goatskin and panpipes are both appropriate to Pan, identifying his bestial nature and linking him to the pastoral. Pan, however, was generally depicted with the attributes of a satyr, as half human, half goat.² Beyond the figure's intended identity, his pose is the *contrapposto* introduced by the Greek sculptor Polykleitos: in this instance, his weight is on the right leg, with the left reaching back to suggest movement, but not necessarily the type of action characteristic of the raucous, amorous Pan or his followers.

The Weil drawing depicts a sculpture now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, which was portrayed in several drawings and prints in the course of the sixteenth century.³ One of the most celebrated is in the 1530s sketchbook of Roman antiquities by the Dutch artist Maerten van Heemskerck: he represented the Pan sculpture in situ in the Santacroce collection in Rome.⁴ Most notably, only the Weil and the Heemskerck drawings show the sculpture without head and arms: the later prints reflect the changes made when it was restored for the Villa Giulia circa 1550–55.⁵

The artist who made this particular drawing has proved as difficult to pin down as the identity of the figure depicted. The two most frequently mentioned names are Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) and Bartolomeo Passarotti (1529–1592), both of whom might well have had access to the statue, presumably in the Santacroce collection. Peruzzi and Passarotti were both prolific draftsmen, and Passarotti in particular is known for his vigorous pen

and ink drawings, which tend to have a more robust calligraphy than exhibited here.⁶ The Weil drawing bears an early inscription of “M. Angelo” (Michelangelo) as well as one of “Baldessare” on the verso, the latter adding some weight and history to the Peruzzi attribution, although a firm attribution is still forthcoming.

The drawing bears the collectors’ marks, one on each side of the statue’s feet, of two important and voracious British artist-collectors, Sir Peter Lely and Jonathan Richardson Sr.⁷ Jonathan Richardson and his son, Jonathan Richardson Jr., contributed an account of art in Italy, published in 1722, which includes mention of the ways in which drawings and prints can be used as art historical evidence. The book was written in the authoritative voice of Richardson Sr., but only the son actually traveled to Italy, so his letters home to his father supplied the basis of the account. Richardson Sr. notes openly in his preface that he had not seen everything he wrote about:

That I should write upon what I never Saw, may appear strange to some; Some may please only to observe that My Remarks are Chiefly upon the way of Thinking; which is seen in a Print, or a Drawing, as well as in the Thing it self. . . .⁸

The utility of such collections becomes even more palpable in the words of Richardson Jr. describing a sculpture he saw in the Chigi Palace in Rome:

A most Beautiful *Bacchus*; the same Attitude as a Drawing of a Bacchus by Parmegiano which my Father has, only That has a *Thyrsus* which This has not. . . . ‘Tis probably it has a *Thyrsus* formerly, which in the Times of *Panism* might have been adorn’d with true Vine Branches on Festival Days.⁹

The younger Richardson thus carried the memory of the drawings he knew from home on his trip through Europe, applying what he had learned from those sheets of paper to his appreciation of the statues he saw abroad. This passage beautifully reveals the extent to which works of art brought the experience of antiquity to life, not just as art per se, but also what the art had to say about the practices of the time. EW

16

Girolamo Mocetto, Italian, c. 1470–after 1531
after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

Calumny of Apelles, c. 1504–6

engraving, state iv/iv

platemark: 12 7/8 × 17 15/16 in. (32.7 × 45.6 cm)

sheet: 13 1/8 × 18 1/4 in. (33.3 × 46.4 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in blue crayon: Joseph Crawhall, Jr. 1852 (see Lugt 466);

stamped in purple ink: FL [separated by a crowned shield] (Lugt 4398)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Joseph Crawhall (1821–1893), New-Castle-on-Tyne; Fürst von Liechtenstein; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 516; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 136–37, no. 11; Förster 1887, 47–48; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 165–66, no. 12; Washington 1973, 388–89; Cast 1981, 66–67; TIB, vol. 25 (Early Italian Masters, Various Subjects, no. 10); Massing 1990, no. 6.B; London-New York 1992, cat. 154; Lambert 1999, nos. 641a, b, c, d; Paris 2008, 350

A mob of figures, identified by inscriptions in the plate, drags an innocent girl before an ass-eared judge and his dubious advisers, illustrating an allegory of slander against the ancient Greek painter Apelles. Girolamo Mocetto, a Venetian artist, was trained as a painter and stained glass designer, and by the early sixteenth century was also making large-scale engravings after his own designs and others. Many of his prints show the influence of Giovanni Bellini, and are characterized by a soft, painterly quality reminiscent of Venetian painting. Mocetto also produced four prints after designs by Andrea Mantegna, including the monumental *Calumny of Apelles*, based on Mantegna's drawing of the subject.¹ Mocetto reproduced the drawing almost exactly—if inelegantly, emphasizing contours over shading—but made slight variations to the original, as was his wont, placing the figures in the Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.²

The literary source for this image is *Slander*, an essay by the ancient Greek rhetorician and satirist Lucian of Samosata. The renowned painter Apelles was accused by Antiphilus, a rival painter, of conspiring against King Ptolemy, but escaped execution after the true conspirators confessed to the crime. Though Antiphilus was punished for his lies, his sentence was not enough to appease Apelles, who painted a picture in revenge for this egregious attack on his character. Lucian's thorough description of the painting became his most significant contribution to Renaissance culture.

His description employed an important classical rhetorical device known as ekphrasis, a meticulous verbal account of a work of visual art, which was revived in the fifteenth century. In his *De Pictura* from 1435, Leon Battista Alberti highlighted the ability to reproduce a work of art from a written description as one of the pillars of the art of painting, and specifically referenced the *Calumny* as a prime example of this practice.³ Ekphrasis became the backbone of narrative painting in Renaissance Italy. The original painting—if it ever existed—had been long lost by the quattrocento.⁴ Thus, subsequent translations of Lucian's *Calumny* during the early fifteenth century—most notably Guarino da Verona's in 1415 and Alberti's own in



SOSPITONE

INVIDIA



CALVMNIA DAPELE

INOCENTIA

PENITENTIA

VERITA



Cat. 16 detail

De Pictura—followed Lucian’s description of the painting.⁵ These verbal descriptions were in turn transformed into visual terms by Renaissance artists.

Mantegna’s drawing of the *Calumny* (fig. 20) was created in this tradition, and closely follows Lucian’s description: “On the right of it sits a man with very large ears...extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him, on one side, stand two women—Ignorance, I

think, and Suspicion...”⁶ Notably, Mantegna’s drawing is reversed from the description, possibly indicating he intended to have an engraving made after it. Mocetto’s print, however, as well as others derived from Mantegna’s design, also appear in reverse from Lucian, suggesting the engraver may have misunderstood the painter’s intention, re-reversing the image on the plate so that it would appear in the same direction as the drawing.⁷ In spite of the change in orientation, the figures are clearly identifiable based on Lucian’s model, including the foolish king Ptolemy with ass’s ears, falling prey to his own ignorant and suspicious nature.

Lucian describes Slander as “a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement...dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven and calls the gods to witness his innocence.” Leading Slander is Envy, “a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long illness...”⁸ Mantegna’s drawing makes slight changes to the figures of Envy and Innocence, who have been transformed, presumably due to Latin translations of names from the Greek, from male to female. Thus, Envy becomes a haggard woman (based on the Latin *Invidia*), and the youth dragged by Slander becomes a girl (*Innocentia*).⁹ This change would be seen in subsequent renderings of the *Calumny* that were inspired by Mantegna’s design, by Mocetto, and others.¹⁰

The present impression shows traces of wear from frequent reprintings,¹¹ and includes handwritten translations of the Latin names into French, hinting at the print’s dispersal outside Italy. Jean-Michel Massing suggests that it was through this image that the rest of Europe came to know Mantegna’s design, though the master’s original seems to have been known as well.¹² A drawn copy by Rembrandt appears to derive directly from Mantegna’s drawing as evinced by the lack of Mocetto’s Venetian background. Indeed, an inscription on the mount of Rembrandt’s drawing by a previous owner, Jonathan Richardson Sr., places it in a collection in Amsterdam, where Rembrandt saw it and copied it. Martin Royalton-Kisch suggests that Rembrandt actually owned Mantegna’s drawing, citing the inventory of Rembrandt’s collection containing a “precious book of Andrea Mantegna.”¹³ AY



Fig. 20. Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506; *The Calumny of Apelles*, 1504–6; pen and brown ink with brown wash; 8 1/8 × 14 15/16 in. (20.6 × 37.9 cm); British Museum, London 18,600,616.85



Iphigenia Recognizing Orestes and Pylades, c. 1515–20

engraving, state i/ii

sheet, trimmed: 10 × 7 5/8 in. (25.4 × 19.4 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in black ink: S [crowned; circled], Althorp [circled] (Lugt 2341a)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Earl Spencer (18th century), Althorp; Helmut H. Rumbler, Frankfurt, until 2001

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nagler 1840, 65, no. 49; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 6, 54, no. 35; TIB, vol. 26 (The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School, no. 194); Hall 2013, 163–64

The heroic figures of Orestes and Pylades, depicted as classical nudes, confront the priestess Iphigenia, who lights a torch before a statuette of the goddess Artemis. This scene reunites Iphigenia and Orestes, long-lost siblings who each believe the other dead. Circumstance has led them both to Tauris: Iphigenia was spirited away by Artemis after her near sacrifice at the hands of her father, Agamemnon, while Orestes and his companion Pylades were sent to Tauris by Apollo to retrieve a statuette of Artemis, but were captured and brought to be sacrificed by none other than Iphigenia.¹

Veneziano's engraving is based on Euripides's tragedy *Iphigenia in Tauris*,² and highlights renewed interest in this story in Renaissance Italy, due in part to its translation and publication in the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³ During this time, the play was transformed from its pagan roots to a Christian allegory of virtue—with the Greek gods overshadowed by references to Christian monotheism—playing up the themes of piety, fortitude, and self-sacrifice. Giovanni Rucellai—a clergyman and nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent—emphasized this aspect of the story in his play, *Oreste*, of 1515–20.⁴ In this expanded version of Euripides's original story, Iphigenia became a pious nun dedicated to the Virgin Mary, while Orestes and Pylades represented the ideal of male friendship. Rucellai's play appeared at nearly the same time as Veneziano's engraving, demonstrating how these themes permeated art and culture in this period.⁵

Veneziano's oeuvre covered a range of styles and genres, from engravings after antique sculpture, to architectural decoration, to fantastic imagery.⁶ The influence of ancient statues pervades this engraving, particularly in the highly sculptural forms of Orestes and Pylades. In fact, the figures of the two male captives seem to derive from the *Apollo Belvedere* classical body types, which Veneziano engraved multiple times during his career. Veneziano may have also been influenced by the contemporary sculptor Baccio Bandinelli (see cat. 61), as evidenced by his engraving of Cleopatra after Bandinelli's design from the same period as *Iphigenia*, though no corresponding drawing for the latter is known to exist.⁷ AY

German or Flemish, 17th century
after Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608

Sleeping Venus and Satyr, late 17th century

bronze on later marble base

8 1/4 × 13 × 8 1/2 in. (21 × 33 × 21.6 cm)

Collection of Phoebe Dent Weil

PROVENANCE: Robert Smith, Washington; Christie's London, July 4, 1989, Lot 108; Michael Hall Fine Arts, Inc., New York

PUBLICATION HISTORY: CINOA 1974–75, 187; Christie's London 1989, 50, Lot 108

Few sculptures speak so eloquently to the taste and erudition of Renaissance collectors as this *Venus*, spied unawares as she sleeps by a prankish satyr. Based on a design by the Flemish artist Giambologna, the most important sculptor to work in Florence in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, this cast is one of numerous examples currently known.¹ The earliest is in the Green Vault in Dresden, documented in the collection in 1587 (fig. 21). The composition was not originally two figures; the Venus was designed and cast by Giambologna or his workshop, while the satyr was designed and cast by his most talented follower, Adriaen de Vries (c. 1545/1556–1626). They are listed as a single sculpture in the 1587 inventory, and this grouping inspired artists and collectors to continue the production of these pieces into subsequent centuries. While the earliest examples date from the last decades of the sixteenth century, casts continued to be made in Italy, as well as France, the Low Countries, and Germany, into the nineteenth century. The single figure of the reclining Venus also remained popular.



Fig. 21. after Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608; *Sleeping Venus and Satyr*, before 1587; bronze; with base: 12 3/8 × 13 3/8 in. (31.5 × 34 cm); Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden Inv. IX 34

Discerning the time, place, and circumstance of the various versions of this bronze is a complicated process. The cast in Dresden and some of the examples that come closest to the original in terms of the detailing of Venus's cast-off clothing, the pillows under her head and torso, and the grotesque head that decorates the back of the chaise on which she languorously reclines, have been finished in a rich and transparent surface coating (called the patina) that appears red in strong lighting. Foundries in different centers favored varying finishes, ranging from a dense black, to a chocolate brown or transparent reddish brown to more of a gray/green or golden tonality.² The warm dark brown surface of this cast, save for areas of wear where the patina has been rubbed away, gives the sculpture an

elegant feel, and represents a taste that appealed to French collectors during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The excessive weight (it weighs 27.2 pounds) suggests it may have been made at an armaments foundry rather than one reserved for casting small bronzes, and may indicate it came neither from Paris nor Florence.³ Pat Wengraf posited that the yellowish metal and the patination argue for the Low Countries as the place of origin.⁴ The heads on the back of the chaise appear to be different in every documented example, ranging from those of devils or bats to skulls or grimacing faces.⁵ The Weil version sports a demonic horned head with bat wings (see detail below).

The appreciation of bronze, a precious and therefore expensive material, accounted for the popularity of such objects among sophisticated collectors. Fans of this particular composition undoubtedly enjoyed its overt eroticism as well. The beautiful temptress, asleep and oblivious to the fact that she is the object of arousal, was a trope that began in antiquity and was revived with gusto in the Renaissance. One source for such imagery was the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a courtly love poem, published in Venice in 1499, which was illustrated with woodcuts portraying antiquities.⁶ One of the woodcuts included an obviously aroused satyr spying on a sleeping woman, and although most of the sculptors who represented the theme did not emphasize that particular aspect, they clearly intended to stress the inherent sexuality of the theme. Venus's pose is based on a famous antique source, a reclining rendition of the sleeping princess Ariadne (fig. 2).⁷ That sculpture was much admired in the sixteenth century, serving as a veritable tutorial in the use of drapery to reveal the human figure. The sensuously reclining Venus designed by Giambologna was one of the most successful adaptations of this popular figure. JWM



Cat. 18 detail







Section III: Devotion and Theatricality

Many of the objects in the Weil collection were designed to be used within a religious setting or were intended to inspire personal or public devotion. The artworks in this section demonstrate the variety and power of art as an expression of belief. Some illustrate biblical texts, individual saints, or holy beings; others were made to record well-known religious images, including prints of famous and influential frescoes that inspired and informed collectors and artists across Europe. Two of the sculptures in this section served as models used in the preparation of commissions intended for the decoration of a church or chapel. Increasingly during the Counter-Reformation when the Catholic Church sought to reaffirm its core messages, the visual vocabulary used by artists often drew upon religious theater and the reenactments of the major feast days within the Christian calendar. Rafael Sadeler's print reproduces a fresco by Federico Zuccaro that responded to the pageantry of such events. Baroque artists in the seventeenth century designed their work to appeal to viewers' emotions as well as their knowledge of scripture and church practice, as exemplified by Jusepe de Ribera's etched *Saint Jerome* and the gilded bronze figure of *Saint Sebastian* shown tied to a tree.

19

Italian, 15th century, Florence

The Inferno, after the fresco in the Camposanto of Pisa, n.d.

engraving, only state (late 17th-century impression)

image: 8 5/8 × 10 15/16 in. (21.9 × 27.8 cm)

platemark: 8 7/8 × 11 1/8 in. (22.5 × 28.3 cm)

sheet: 9 1/8 × 11 9/16 in. (23.2 × 29.4 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1990

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, 49, no. 59; Washington 1973, 42, cat. 10; TIB, vol. 24 (Commentary, Anonymous Florentine Engravers, no. 28); Zurich 1998, cat. 17; Lambert 1999, nos. 196a–b

20

Rafael Sadeler I, Flemish, 1560 or 1561–1628 or 1632

after Federico Zuccaro, Italian, c. 1541–1609

The Annunciation with Prophets Who Preached the Coming of the Messiah, 1580

engraving, state i/ii

published by Jan Sadeler II, Flemish, c. 1588–c. 1665

sheet, trimmed: 11 13/16 × 17 1/2 in. (30 × 44.5 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Christie's London, December 2, 1992, Lot 18; Carolyn Bullard, Dallas, TX, until 1992

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hollstein (Rafael Sadeler I, no. 12); Luchinat 1998, 256; Witcombe 2004, 194; TIB, vol. 71 (Supplement, R. Sadeler, 7101.011); Sant'Angelo 2010, 199–200

21

attributed to Philips Galle, Dutch, 1537–1612

previously attributed to Hendrick Goltzius, Dutch, 1558–1617

Six Prophets of the Annunciation, n.d.

engraving, state iii/iii

image: 16 3/8 × 11 5/16 in. (41.6 × 28.7 cm)

platemark: 17 5/16 × 11 5/16 in. (44 × 28.7 cm)

sheet: 17 5/16 × 11 7/16 in. (44 × 29.1 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in brown ink: P. Mariette 1673; written in brown ink: cette Piece est de Goltzius; stamped in red ink: Dublette der Albertina [circled] (Lugt 5g)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Pierre Mariette II (1634–1716), Paris; Albertina, Vienna (duplicate); Ture Lundh, Gothenberg; Artemis Fine Arts, New York and London, until 1994

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Amsterdam 1993–94, 366; Auerbach 2009, 266

22

circle of Giulio Parigi, Italian, 1571–1635

Stage Design for a Scene in the Underworld, n.d.

pen and brown ink, and brown wash over traces of black chalk

sheet: 7 5/8 × 9 3/4 in. (19.4 × 24.8 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: William H. Schab Gallery, New York, until 1990

*Oh, what a wonder it appeared to me
when I perceived three faces on his head.
The first, in front, was red in color.*

*Another two he had, each joined with this,
above the mid point of each shoulder,
and all the three united at the crest¹*

The horned, three-headed Satan in this anonymous engraving (cat. 19, originally engraved in the late fifteenth century, but probably re-engraved two hundred years later) is reminiscent of Dante's description quoted above from the *Inferno* of the "King of Hell," who devours sinners through his three mouths and excretes them from his midsection, while presiding over the unfolding torture of countless other sinners (see also cat. 4). In the upper left, the seemingly casual inscription "this Hell is from the Camposanto in Pisa" openly declares its source in a painting on the walls of the massive burial structure in the center of Pisa—and notably this is the earliest known print to make such a direct claim.² Originally called *The Inferno According to Dante*, more recently scholars have recognized that although the print shares many details with Dante's texts, like the three-headed Lucifer, it is hardly an illustration of the text, as a woodcut from the 1491 Venice edition (fig. 22) demonstrates.³ There, Lucifer wears the featherless bat wings Dante gives him, and stands hip-deep in the icy waters of hell, while he inexorably inhales "Judas Iscariot" through his central mouth and Brutus and Cassius at his right and left orifices, all details explicitly mentioned in the text but absent from the Camposanto engraving.



Fig. 22. Dante Alighieri, Italian, 1265–1321; Canto XXXIII, illustration from *The Divine Comedy*, 1491; woodcut; Houghton Library, Harvard University GEN Inc 4877 (B) (24.5)

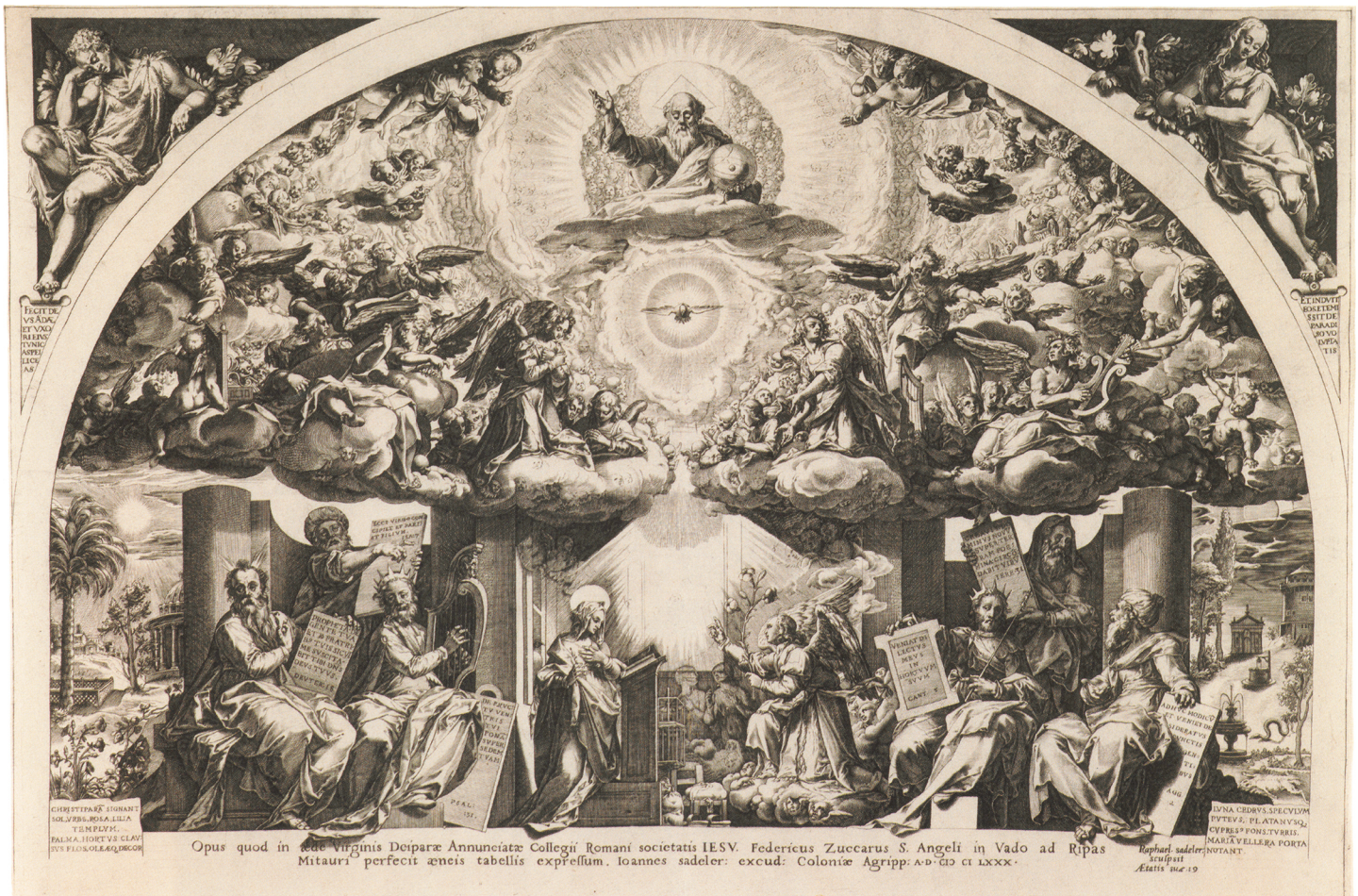
Instead—as in the fresco, which the engraving faithfully reproduces within the means available—Satan perches with his raptor claws on the lowest of the boundary lines dividing his dominion, while a fourth face on his abdomen disgorges the souls into a yet-deeper nether region of perpetual torture, which here includes force-feeding, the melting of gold coins, and being roasted on a rotisserie and encircled by snakes.

Rafael Sadeler's engraving of Federico Zuccaro's fresco in the Santa Maria Annunziata in Rome (cat. 20) takes us not only far from the nether regions of hell into a celestial space, but also a century forward in the history of Italian painting and printmaking. Even in the late sixteenth century, the notion of producing a print to precisely reproduce a known fresco still filled a relatively small subcategory of the print market, even though painters and printmakers had been working together at least since Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431–1506) engaged a Mantuan goldsmith to make engravings for him (see discussion in cats. 42–44).

Sadeler's engraving is an incredibly faithful reduced copy, not of Zuccaro's Roman fresco, but rather of a much larger two-plate engraving after that fresco by the Dutch engraver



Cat. 19



Cat. 20

Cornelis Cort.⁴ Cort was renowned for his engravings after the designs of contemporary Italian painters such as Titian and Zuccaro. His direct model for his print in turn would have been a drawing, very possibly the one by Zuccaro now in the Louvre, rather than the fresco itself.⁵ Sadeler's engraving is clearly inscribed with his name as engraver, as well as his precocious age of nineteen, the publisher's address of his older brother Jan Sadeler, and the city of Cologne as the place of publication.⁶ Despite his youth, this remains one of his most accomplished engravings.

The Camposanto fresco was damaged early on, although it survived until World War II, whereas Zuccaro's fresco was destroyed when the church was replaced in 1626. In both cases, the engravings give us the most complete information about the original works, and they are both important as examples from the first two centuries of printmaking that demonstrate an ever-evolving conception of how prints convey information about works in other media.



Cat. 21

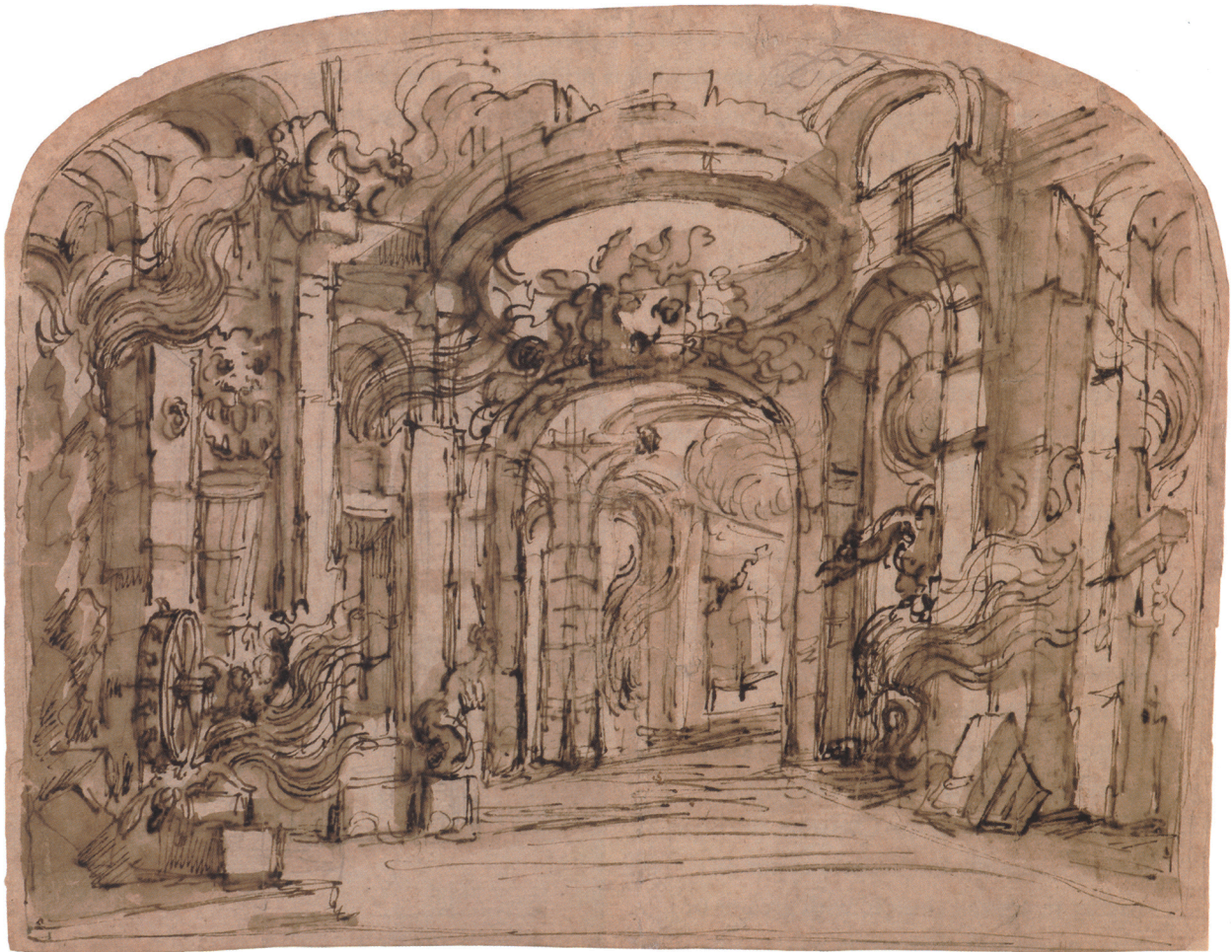
There are, however, no impressions of the Camposanto plate from the fifteenth century, although later impressions are widespread, and in the late eighteenth century the plate itself was owned by a prominent Pisan historian, who used it in his illustrated guidebook to the city's cultural heritage. The quality and strength of the engraving, which prints clearly and with high contrast in this impression, suggests that the plate may actually have been re-engraved for its modern "edition." The Weil impression is printed on paper that can be dated to the late seventeenth century, and may thus be among the earliest of these modern impressions.⁷ At any rate, by then it was already considered a better representation of the fresco's original state than what remained on the wall after repeated restoration campaigns.⁸

The Cort engraving after Zuccaro's fresco and the copies it inspired, including Rafael Sadeler's, functioned in other ways, too, beyond being carriers of art historical information for connoisseurs about frescoes they could not otherwise experience. These prints spread information about the ideas expressed in the fresco and the print, and the culture of performance in which they participated. Zuccaro worked on theatrical productions, and it has been argued that his fresco was informed by that experience.⁹ In turn, the Devotion of the Forty Hours—literally forty-hour stretches of time at pivotal moments in the Christian calendar during which the Eucharist was put on display in a given church, with greater or lesser pomp and circumstance—became part of Catholic practice in many cities, and the Zuccaro fresco is considered a visual guide for what those light-filled, deeply sacred experiences would have looked like.¹⁰

The essence of the Zuccaro composition found its way into yet another print of the same subject (cat. 21), also by a Dutch printmaker. This engraving was traditionally considered an early work by Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), who was active in



Fig. 23. Johannes Stradanus, Flemish, 1523–1605; *The Six Prophets of the Coming of Christ*, mid-16th–early 17th century; pen and brown ink with brush and brown wash over black chalk, framing line in pen and brown ink; 16 3/16 × 11 5/16 in. (41.1 × 28.7 cm); Rogers Fund, 1996; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1996.302



Cat. 22

Haarlem in the officially Protestant Northern Netherlands, and indeed the Weil impression includes an inscription by the great late seventeenth- early eighteenth-century print collector and connoisseur Pierre Mariette II, who inscribed his attribution to Goltzius on the print's verso. It has more recently, however, been given to Philips Galle, a Haarlem native active in the still Catholic city of Antwerp, where an image with such deep roots in Counter-Reformation Rome would have found a more sympathetic audience.¹¹

Galle's print condenses the activity from the expansive form of the horizontal fresco into an upright vertical composition, creating three distinct planes, one above the other: the six prophets loom large in this version, sitting right in front of the viewer in the lower register of the print and up against the picture plane. The Annunciation itself happens in the middle ground situated just above them—and thus at more of a remove from the viewer than in the Zuccaro/Cort/Sadeler format—while God the Father and the Holy Spirit with the clouds of angels fill the top quarter of the image. A drawing by Stradanus (fig. 23) probably provided the model for this shift from horizontal fresco to the condensed vertical composition. With the loss of the architectural framework surrounding the painting, the new print is strictly about conveying the iconography of the original, and less interested in disseminating the knowledge that this is, or was, a fresco in a living church.

A drawing of a scene from the underworld (cat. 22) from forty or more years later returns us to the living church, and also brings us right back to hell where this entry began. An anonymous drawing from the circle of the prolific Florentine stage and set designer Giulio Parigi, this darkly luminous work may relate to a theatrical stage set, perhaps for a celebratory event for the Florentine nobility, which provided Parigi's livelihood. In any event, it depicts a dramatically lit, dynamic three-dimensional space large enough for a retinue of actors or worshippers to walk through. It teems with dragons, torture wheels, and frightening chimeras from the underworld, inviting the viewer into the type of experience that Dante's poem had brought to life centuries earlier. EW







Cat. 23a detail

23a–b

Cosimo Fanzago, Italian, 1591–1678

Angels, 1640–47

bronze with gilding

(a) 22 1/16 × 8 7/8 × 12 5/8 in. (56 × 22.5 × 32.1 cm)

(b) 22 1/4 × 13 1/16 × 13 1/4 in. (56.5 × 33.2 × 33.7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Major General Georges Burns, K.C.V.O., C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., and M.K., North Mymms Park, Hatfield, Hertfordshire; his sale, Christie's London, 1967, Lot 16; Cyril Humphris, London; Barbara Piazeka Johnson; Christie's London, July 2000, Lot 36; Daniel Katz, London, until 2002

PUBLICATION HISTORY: La Corte Cailler 1900, 496–509; D'Addosio 1920, 169; Frangipane 1920, 133–37; Christie's London 1967, Lot 16; Warsaw 1990, 318–20, cat. 60; Zock 2001, cat. 11; Agosti 2002, 147–61; Diemer 2004, 2, 181; Pisani 2009, 3–4; D'Agostino 2011, 151–53, 353–58, no. A.11; Panarello 2012, 197–250

These captivating *Angels* have long been known to scholars but have only recently been properly examined. The pair was exhibited in Warsaw in 1990 and was tentatively attributed to Hubert Gerhard (1550–1620)¹—an attribution repeated by Giovanni Pratesi in 2003, but rightly rejected by Dorothea Diemer one year later.² Although the *Angels* are generally well preserved, they show some breaks and traces of restoration and regilding. In one of them (cat. 23a), a swirl of the drapery has broken off. With their restrained poses, penetrating eyes, and painstakingly chiseled wings, they present something of a puzzle.

I examined the pair at length in St. Louis in 2010, and shortly afterward attributed them to Cosimo Fanzago,³ the leading sculptor and architect of baroque Naples. Lombard by birth, Fanzago moved to Naples when he was seventeen, and soon became the most prominent artist in the Spanish viceregal city. He ran a large workshop, and clad Naples with baroque forms. Best known for his kaleidoscopic works in colored inlaid marbles and his inventive sculptural style, Fanzago was also a skilled bronze founder. Sought after by the major religious orders of the city, the artist also traveled to Monte Cassino, Venice, Rome, and other parts of Italy. In 1631, the Carthusians, already among his major patrons, commissioned a majestic altar destined for the monastery of Serra San Bruno in Calabria.

The altar is a *unicum* in the artist's output. It was conceived as an impressive marble octagonal ciborium, and was mostly carved in Naples before it was sent to Serra San Bruno. The first payments date to 1633, but Fanzago worked on this enterprise over a long period of time. A series of published documents chronicle the different stages of the work and the numerous assistants and metal founders who cast the large number of statuettes and ornaments required.⁴ Because of the delays in completing this major work, Fanzago quarreled with the Carthusians and left the altar unfinished in 1647. By then he had already completed most of the bronze statuettes, including the *Angels* now in St. Louis, which were originally part of a set of six *Genuflecting Angels*. The craftsman Andrea Gallo assembled the remaining parts of the altar with the assistance of Innocenzo Mangani after 1653.

Celebrated for its monumental forms, lavish marble decoration, and numerous gilt bronze statuettes, the ensemble was severely damaged by an earthquake in 1783. In 1807, the Carthusians left the monastery, following the Napoleonic decree of suppression of the religious orders. In the mid-1830s, the altar with the ciborium was reassembled in the church of the Addolorata in Serra San Bruno, where it stands today (fig. 24).⁵ With the exception of a few badly damaged statuettes that are now in the museum of Vibo Valentia (figs. 25a–b) and the two genuflecting *Angels* in St. Louis, most of the bronze figurines have been reinstalled on the altar. Since they are not mentioned in the rather detailed nineteenth-century documents, which record the restoration and reassembling of the altar, it is possible that the Weil *Angels* left Italy shortly after 1807. Because of the eighteenth-century earthquake and the many subsequent changes to the altar's design, it is difficult to establish with certainty the original layout of Fanzago's rather elaborate ensemble. The six *Genuflecting Angels* were, however, most likely placed in the center above the altar under the ciborium, and thus were reminiscent of the ciborium in the Cathedral of Milan designed by Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–1596) and decorated with bronzes by Francesco Brambilla the Younger (active 1570–1599).⁶



Fig. 24. Cosimo Fanzago, Italian, 1591–1678; Altar, Church of the Addolorata, Serra San Bruno



Figs. 25a-b. Cosimo Fanzago, Italian, 1591–1678; *Genuflecting Angels* for the altar ciborium at Serra San Bruno, 1640–47; bronze with gilding; height, each: 19 3/4 in. (50.2 cm); Museo Diocesano, Vibo Valentia

In 2012 Mario Panarello suggested that the *Genuflecting Angels* should be attributed to Ercole Ferrata (1610–1686), rather than to Fanzago himself.⁷ Ferrata worked with Fanzago in the early 1640s, and it is quite possible that he collaborated on some parts of the ciborium for the monastery of Serra San Bruno. To the present author, however, the *Angels* seem closer to a design by Fanzago himself, especially in the handling of the drapery.

It is clear that the St. Louis *Angels* belong to the ciborium ensemble. Not only do they have the same dimensions as their companions in Calabria, but they also have similar stylistic features, such as gentle oval faces framed by long flowing curls, the deep undercuts, and the sharp folds of the drapery. Their gestures almost evoke a silent prayer. When placed next to each other, the statuettes show the same signs of damage, likely caused by the earthquake of 1783. PDA



Saint John the Evangelist, 1488

terracotta with traces of paint

37 1/16 × 14 3/16 × 9 13/16 in. (94.1 × 36 × 25 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Abbot of San Frediano, Pisa; Dr. Otto Lanz, Amsterdam, by 1912; salt mines at Altaussee 1941–45; Mrs. A. Lanz-Willi, Amsterdam; Dr. A. B. Lanz, Glion-sur-Montreux until 1971; Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano (1912–2002); Thyssen-Bornemisza family by descent until 2005; Daniel Katz Ltd., London, until 2006

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Baroni 1875, LXXIII and LXXIV; Peelen 1912, 1–10, cat. 863; Pit 1912, 43, pl. 5; Dussler 1924, 21–22; Cendali 1926, 141–42, 181; Amsterdam 1934, cat. 863, 200; Fleming and Stoneham 1973, 244, 247, pl. 11; Pane 1975, vol. 1, 237; Radke 1992, 217–24; Radcliffe in Radcliffe, Baker, and Maek-Gérard 1992, 11–13, 62–67, cat. 4; Myssok 1999, 151–57, chap. 3.2, n. 519–39, 369–70, n. 33, figs. 64 and 67; Carl 2006, vol. 1, 99, 100, n. 128, vol. 2, 191, pl. 190a; Balderston in Daniel Katz 2006, 18–21, n. 5; Caglioti 2007, 22, 25

Among the items in the postmortem inventory of Benedetto da Maiano's workshop was a "St. John the Evangelist terra cotta of 1 2/3 braccia," undoubtedly a reference to this beautifully rendered representation of the visionary evangelist.¹ Benedetto was the foremost Florentine sculptor of the 1480s and 1490s, known for his expressively realistic portraiture, graceful Madonnas, and narrative reliefs with elements derived from classical architecture. Although he worked primarily in Tuscany, Benedetto executed commissions for cities farther afield, including Naples. This sculpture served as a preparatory model for a marble Saint John the Evangelist, a side figure in an altarpiece of the Annunciation that served as a funerary monument for Marino Curiale, Count of Terranova (fig. 26). It was installed in a side chapel of the Olivetan Church, now known as Sant'Anna dei Lombardi.

The chapel was first documented and attributed to Benedetto in Giorgio Vasari's life of the artist. Although Vasari was sometimes mistaken when he reported information provided to him secondhand, in this case he knew about it firsthand because he executed a series of frescoes in the same church. Benedetto worked in both marble and terracotta; some of his finest portrait busts were realized in clay rather than stone. On several occasions he prepared full-scale clay models that would be re-created in more finished marble form. It is rare for a fifteenth-century artist to have so many surviving preparatory models. Eight such pieces by Benedetto survive that relate to two of his finished marble sculptures.²

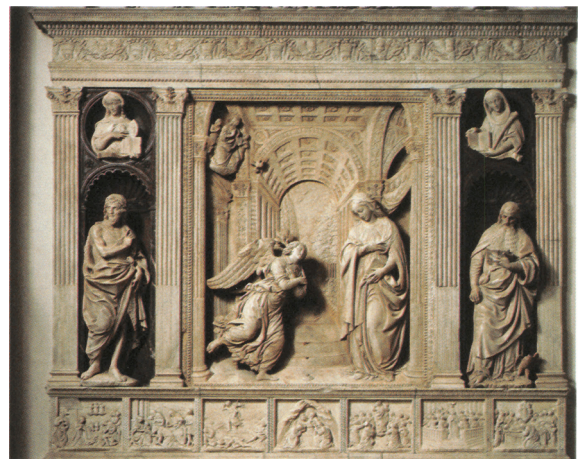


Fig. 26. Benedetto da Maiano, Italian, 1442–1497; *Altar of the Annunciation*, Mastroguidici Chapel, finished 1489; Sant'Anna dei Lombardi, Naples



Fig. 27. Cat. 24, prior to conservation

The altarpiece was made in Florence and shipped to Naples, the inscription “1490” on the base attesting to the date of its completion. Doris Carl has confirmed that the work was probably completed by 1489, but was stolen by pirates and then returned to Benedetto’s workshop before being sent to Naples again. Based on her calculations of the time he needed to complete other commissions, Carl has suggested that Benedetto was probably contracted to do the work in early 1488. It is therefore likely that the terracotta was made in that year.

The sculpture, as well as a *Saint John the Baptist* and a *Madonna and Child*, were noted as having been sold to the abbot of the church of Saint Frediano in Pisa who presumably made them into an altar. The remnants of paint found on this figure, unnecessary for a preparatory model, have been taken as evidence that the piece was indeed repurposed for devotional use.³ There is some red pigment on John’s book and undergarment, traces of blue in his beard, and some green on the base near his feet.

The history of this terracotta is unknown from the time it was bought by the abbot until 1912 when it appeared in an exhibition of sculpture at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on loan from the collector Otto Lanz. It was exhibited again in 1934 at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, then seized by the Nazis in the summer of 1941, when the entire Lanz collection was taken to Germany and placed in the salt mines at Altaussee. In 1945 it went back to the Netherlands, and then returned to the Lanz family in Switzerland where it was sold to Baron H. H. Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1971.⁴

During conservation undertaken in the early seventies, it was discovered that several losses had been replaced with plaster, resulting in a very awkward left elbow and drapery, evident in photographs made at that time (fig. 27). The work was reconstructed to conform more closely to the finished marble, which presents more beautifully but may not reflect the artist's original intent since in other parts the marble and terracotta are not identical, suggesting that Benedetto made changes when carving the marble. Not only is the marble a bit larger, but the angle of the head has been altered and the hair made more regular. Further differences include additional hair added on the top of the head, and variations in the drapery along the lower right leg. In spite of the changes the artist made to the marble, some scholars originally thought that the terracotta was a copy rather than a preparatory model, although no scholar currently holds this view.⁵

The altarpiece was intended to focus on the importance of the Annunciation, the moment when Christ was conceived in the womb of the Virgin. This emphasis determined the selection of decorative elements in the altarpiece as well as the manner in which Saint John was portrayed. He has been depicted late in life to underscore his role as author. John the Evangelist is depicted like a prophet, with long flowing hair and beard. Lines have been incised all around his face, and he intently stares at his book. He originally held a pen in his right hand. In working the clay, Benedetto allowed softer, more malleable features, whereas in the finished marble, the line of the brow is firmer and the eyes recessed to emphasize the age and wisdom of the visionary author.

Writers have debated whether Benedetto was more successful in clay or in stone; there are adherents for his proficiency in both media.⁶ The Weil terracotta is clear evidence of the artist's sensitive and successful handling of the terracotta medium. The marble in Naples appears more rigid and removed. JWM



25

Italian, 17th century, Rome or Milan

Model for a Relief, c. 1650–1700

wood and red beeswax

16 1/4 × 10 5/8 in. (41.3 × 27 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Christie's New York 1995, Lot 36

This model was probably made for a small door that enclosed a liturgical niche or chamber within a church for the Oratorian order. The central image of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child atop a crescent moon refers directly to the miraculous Madonna della Vallicella, a vision of the Virgin Mary that Saint Philip Neri, the order's founder, experienced in 1576 as well as an icon of the virgin located over the altar of the Chiesa Nuova, the order's main church. It repeats nearly exactly the illustration on the title page of the first account of Neri's life, written in 1600 by his friend and disciple Antonio Gallonio and published in Rome that same year.¹ This work represents a typical step in the preparation for architectural reliefs, using pliable wax applied over a wooden base. Its survival is exceptional given the fragility of the wax.² Although most of the relief is in excellent condition, some of the crispness of the carving has been lost due to softening of the material through contact or pressure applied to the surface.

The imagery presents the hierarchy of the divine order that was often reiterated in Roman baroque churches. At the very top is the eye of God. Directly below it is an image of God the Father who spreads his arms to embrace the assortment of holy personages assembled within the arched field. The image is unusually detailed and the carving is of very high quality; it is possible to identify most of the figures. From the far left we see Saint Anthony Abbot with a T-shape on his shoulder; beside him Saint Joseph holds a flowering branch. Next is Saint John the Baptist with a fur draped on one shoulder and a cruciform staff in his right hand. Saint Peter is beside him, holding the keys symbolizing his stewardship of the church, and Saint Paul holds the hilt of a sword, the emblem of his martyrdom. To the right is Saint John the Evangelist, with a chalice, his attribute.³ Above him is Saint James the Greater with the shell denoting pilgrimage on his shoulder; above him with a star over his head is Saint Dominic; Mary Magdalene, with her ointment jar, appears to the right. Lower down, flanking Mary and her child, stand the seventeenth-century saints Charles Borromeo (left) and Philip Neri (right), often paired in Oratorian imagery, particularly in the late seventeenth century. At the base of each of the side columns appear heads of damned souls, surrounded by flames, occupying the position farthest from God.

The prominence of Neri and his pairing with Borromeo suggest that the relief was made sometime after Neri was canonized in 1622. The representation of the saint has been copied from Alessandro Algardi's life-size statue in the Chiesa Nuova, completed in 1636, which may indicate a Roman origin for the piece.⁴ Fernando Loffredo, however, suggested that the angel heads and volutes at the far sides may derive from Lombard sources.⁵ Nonetheless, a number of the motifs on the relief recall ones used in Algardi's studio, but perhaps a more pertinent workshop would be that of the Roman sculptor and painter Ciro Ferri (1634–1689), who designed the ciborium for the main altar at the Chiesa Nuova. The animation of the faces surrounding God the Father is reminiscent of a series of bronze figures that Ferri executed for the altar of Saint Ignatius in the church of Il Gesù, finished at Ferri's death in 1689 and placed on the altar the following year.⁶ JWM

The Coronation of the Virgin, late 16th century

bronze with gilding

8 3/8 × 7 × 9/16 in. (21.3 × 17.8 × 1.4 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Galerie Neuse, Paris, sold April 4, 2000; Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, until April 29, 2000

Devotion to the Virgin Mary flourished in Europe beginning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One idea associated with Mary was that she reigned in Heaven after she was physically transported to the divine realm following her death. First represented in the visual arts as early as the sixth century, the coronation of the Virgin had become by the sixteenth century the ideal visual means for representing Mary's role as heavenly queen.¹ Various models developed for rendering the theme. Some examples depicted Christ placing the crown upon a kneeling Virgin while in others she is shown seated. Sometimes God the Father acts alone, while at other times the Holy Trinity (God the Father, Christ, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit) appears, representing the threefold nature of God. Albrecht Dürer included this last type in his 1510 woodcut that became a favored model, particularly among German and Dutch artists (fig. 28).



Fig. 28. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*, from *The Life of the Virgin*, 1510; woodcut; sheet: 11 1/2 × 8 1/8 in. (29.2 × 20.6 cm); Rogers Fund, 1918; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 18.65.10

Most scholars have associated the depiction on this plaque with Dürer's print as well as one created by Jan Sadeler I (1550–1600).² Although Dürer included an open coffin surrounded by apostles to represent Mary's assumption into heaven prior to her crowning, his representations of Christ, Mary, and God the Father bear closer analogies to the plaque in the Weil collection than the one by Sadeler. Mary's pose in particular seems to have been directly inspired by Dürer's version, especially the rightward tilt of her head and her downcast eyes. The artist who created the Weil relief enlarged the cruciform staff that Christ holds in his right hand, probably intended to reference the Resurrection since images of that event almost always feature a large cross-shaped staff, often with an unfurled strip of fabric (banderole) attached.

The Weil plaque appears to be the work of an artist who was trained primarily in metalwork. The controlled handling of the light rays that emanate from the Holy Spirit reflect someone extremely skilled in chasing, the incising of lines in the surface of the metal, as well as the reinforcing of some details on a metal surface. Other examples of the skills of the metalworker,



most likely a silversmith or goldsmith, can be seen in the texture of Christ's robe, the definition of the cord that holds the robe at his throat, the hair of all three protagonists, and the texture of the clouds. The artist's skill in carving the model for the bronze cast is also evident in the refined folding of all the draped cloth, as well as the swelling rhythms of the cloud formations that frame the central group. This suggests the high-quality workmanship characteristic of Augsburg metal crafters in the sixteenth century where numerous accomplished workshops could be found. In many cases, the work produced there was signed or identified with a mark. No such evidence of authorship can be found on this plaque, although scholars have assigned other versions (in lead and silver) to Augsburg workshops.³ JWM



Madonna and Child, late 16th century

bronze with gilding

height, with base: 12 1/4 in. (31.1 cm); figure: 8 5/8 × 2 7/8 × 3 1/4 in. (21.9 × 7.3 × 8.3 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Purchased for market by Mark Wilchusky with assistance of John R. Gaines; Peter Laverack

This statue of the standing Virgin, holding her child, repeats a form that was especially popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (1512) and Caravaggio's *Madonna di Loreto* (c. 1604–6). The figure embodies a vision of the heavenly queen tending to the needs of her extraordinary infant. This rendition is particularly elongated and elegant. The artist has aligned the child's torso with that of his mother, presenting a subtle overall serpentine form, enhanced by the clinging drapery that falls in gentle folds at the Virgin's proper right side.

Made of bronze and gilded, it sits atop a heavily decorated base, suggesting that it was realized by the hand of a goldsmith. A likely candidate would be Antonio Gentili da Faenza, a goldsmith who was active in Rome beginning around 1550 until his death in 1609.¹ He was associated with the Roman workshop of Guglielmo della Porta and produced artworks for the Medici and Farnese families. The signed set of candlesticks and crucifix in the Vatican are his acknowledged masterpieces, displaying an adept eye for design as well as the creative adaptation of well-known sixteenth-century motifs including fruit, sea creatures, skulls, and curled strapwork.² In testimony from a lawsuit brought by Guglielmo's son regarding objects that were missing from his father's workshop, Gentili acknowledged owning a sizable holding of casts made after many artists, listing first and foremost the work of Michelangelo.³ The head of the Virgin Mary nearly replicates the profile of Michelangelo's Madonna in the Medici Chapel in Florence and is consistent with Gentili's reliance on the earlier artist.

There is only one other figurative sculpture that has been attributed to Gentili, a small gilded statuette of *Venus and Cupid*, formerly in the Lederer collection in Vienna and lost for many years, known only through old and rather poor photographs.⁴ There appear to be similarities in the delicate handling of the drapery on the Weil Madonna and the cloth lying across the abdomen of the standing Venus. They both share the Michelangesque profiles for the female heads.

The Virgin stands on a short pedestal that serves to monumentalize her stature.⁵ The sides of the base are dominated by shields with curled strapwork at the bottom and cherubs' heads flanked by wings at the top, each decorated with ribbons and apples. The corners carry female torsos with protruding breasts and pronounced nipples. Their arms bend at the elbow while their hands grasp ribbons that have been threaded through their arms. Bead and reel molding adorns the bottom of each face. All these motifs can be found in Gentili's visual vocabulary, although in his other known works the decoration is much denser and more varied, making a definitive attribution difficult. JWM



28

after Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680
Italian, 17th century, Florence

Saint Bibiana, mid-to-late 17th century

bronze and copper alloy with golden red translucent lacquer

18 5/8 × 7 7/8 × 7 in. (47.3 × 20 × 17.8 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: John R. Gaines, until 1993; his sale, Christie's New York, June 2, 1993, Lot 221; Mark Wilchusky, until 1998

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Christie's New York 1993, 42–43, Lot 221; Decker 1993, 52

Gianlorenzo Bernini's first life-size clothed figure portrayed the fourth-century martyr Bibiana who was whipped to death with weighted leather cords in an unsuccessful attempt to coerce her into renouncing her Christian faith.¹ Completed in 1626, Bernini's statue was commissioned by Pope Urban VIII as part of the renovation of the church dedicated to Bibiana, prompted by the discovery and authentication of her body in 1624. Bernini created what has come to be understood as the quintessential rendering of a female holy person. Through her upturned gaze and reaching gesture, the marble image of the saint engages the space around her and encourages viewers to address the divine realm. She rests her right arm on the column to which she was bound during her flagellation, and holds a gilded palm of martyrdom in her left hand. Her slightly open mouth and the rich play of light and shadow created by the serpentine folds of her cloak that is bunched upon her right thigh suggest otherworldly agitation. She has been captured in what Rudolf Wittkower aptly described as a state of "spiritual rapture."²

The Weil sculpture, the only known example of the composition in bronze, captures the rich play of the drapery folds as well as the graceful turn of Bibiana's body. Without the palm frond (there is no evidence on the sculpture that such an element was part of the original piece), the central hook-shaped drapery fold assumes much greater prominence. The author of the 1993 Christie's sales catalogue entry suggested that the bronze was made from a preparatory model (called a *bozzetto*), and that the waxy-looking surface reflects the wax model that was used in the casting process.³ It is unlikely that this sculpture was made from an autograph model, however, since it bears little similarity to other bronze copies that were made from Bernini's terracotta models, such as those related to the funerary statue for Countess Matilda.⁴ Those bronzes differ from the finished sculpture and display tool marks running down the back or evidence that such marks were removed through chasing.⁵ None of the seven extant versions of the Matilda come close to matching the finish found in the present sculpture.⁶ Rather than reflecting a simplified working study, this bronze repeats (and even amplifies) the lively flourish of fabric that engulfs the saint, suggesting an avid copyist rather than someone working from a preliminary work.

It should be noted that there are two terracotta versions of the Saint Bibiana, also of reduced scale; both are believed to be eighteenth-century copies. One is in the Farsetti collection in the Hermitage. It is larger and more classicizing than the Weil cast, and exhibits minor differences throughout, making it an unlikely model for the bronze.⁷ The second version is in the Louvre. It, too, is of slightly larger scale, with simplifications in the drapery. The right arm reaches farther away from the body and the head looks more directly heavenward.⁸

The date for the sculpture is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Its embrace of the theatricality of the full baroque style suggests a mid-to-late seventeenth-century production. It is an extremely heavy and thick cast, implying that it may have been produced in an armament foundry, maybe even the one associated with the Vatican, although its rich and luminous red lacquer suggests a Florentine manufacture. JWM



The Virgin Lactans, second half 14th century, 1360–80(?)marble with traces of yellow and gold paint¹

14 3/8 × 4 1/2 × 3 1/4 in. (36.5 × 11.4 × 8.3 cm)

Collection of Phoebe Dent Weil

PROVENANCE: Sam Fogg, London, until 1995; Paris art market; Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, until 1999

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries marked a high point in the development of devotion to the Virgin Mary. Artists developed a wide repertoire of Marian imagery, and the Virgin Mary shown suckling her child was among the types that proliferated. Although the earliest representation appeared in the Roman catacombs during the third century, depictions of the theme were not made with any regularity until the late twelfth century. The portrayal of Mary as an earthly mother tending to the most basic needs of her infant son underscored the idea of Jesus's humanity. Perhaps more important, Mary's milk was understood to relate symbolically to the blood that Christ sacrificed for humankind.² Therefore, this charming representation of an intimate maternal moment carried profound meaning for Christians in the late medieval period.

This statuette of the Virgin Lactans is remarkable for the extraordinarily accomplished treatment of the drapery. Cascading folds of soft fabric adorn both the front and back of the sculpture, suggesting that the piece was always intended to be seen in the round. There are instances when the back of a sculpture has been carved and yet the piece was affixed to a wall, in this case it seems implausible that so much care would have been expended on a part that would never be seen.³ One might even suggest that the back is the more beautiful side, given the arcing swags that dominate the bottom half of the figure, as well as the intricate and delicate serpentine layers of the Virgin's head scarf. These features find few parallels elsewhere. The Virgin's proper right foot is broken and she is missing one of her shoes. She originally wore a metal crown (as indicated by the holes) that would have complemented the elaborate folds of her drapery.

These very characteristics suggest a geographic place of manufacture for the sculpture. This lyrical description of the manner in which textiles fall can be found in sculptures produced along the Meuse River; its valley stretches from Neufchâteau in northeast France northward through Belgium and into the Netherlands and Germany. Although the region is perhaps best known as a major center for metalwork during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were also artists creating illuminated manuscripts and sculpture in stone and wood. Some of the best workshops were clustered around the Flemish city of Liège. In addition to its singular drapery style, the Weil Virgin shares other elements with Mosan images of Mary. Her face, for example, has widely spaced eyes, pronounced swelling under the eyes, and undulating incised lines that define the hair around her face. These features can be found in numerous examples of Marian imagery from the Meuse Valley, both among figures that still remain in their places of origin and those in museum collections in the United States and Europe.⁴ JWM



Nativity, 1504

engraving, only state

image: 7 3/16 × 4 5/8 in. (18.3 × 11.7 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 7 1/4 × 4 11/16 in. (18.4 × 11.9 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in black ink: GW (not in Lugt); stamped in black ink:

A.F.D. [enclosed] (Lugt 119)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Ambroise Firmin-Didot (1790–1876), Paris; Drouot, Paris, 1877, Lot 180; Pace Master Prints, New York

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meder 1932, no. 2; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 84f., 91, 97, 248; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 109; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 2); Boston 1971, cats. 86, 87, and 88; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 600; Washington 1971, cat. 29; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 2); Schoch 2001, no. 40

Albrecht Dürer's *Nativity*, or "Christmas" as he called it when he gave an impression to the Factor of Portugal in 1520, is at first glance one of his more modest engravings, deceptively commonplace in its details. The prominent placement of his signature and the date 1504 on a sign above the gables of the stable where the newborn Christ lies has suggested to some scholars that the engraving was intended as a New Year's card—an elaborate one, given the care taken in the depiction of the varied textures of wood, brick, plaster, thatching, and stone, the elaborate folds of the Virgin's robe, and the vegetation emerging from the upper regions of the crumbling medieval structure.¹ These details are beguiling in the luminous and subtle Weil impression.

The composition is anything but haphazard, however, which is underscored by the engraving's shared date with *Adam and Eve* (cat. 46), one of Dürer's most influential and thoroughly planned compositions. The years between Dürer's two trips to Venice, circa 1495–1505, were fertile ones, in which he began to grapple with the theories of proportion and perspective that were hallmarks of the Italian Renaissance, and the *Nativity* is a test case for one-point perspective.² A squared construction drawing working out the perspective in the central archway demonstrates Dürer's intention as well as his process, while emphasizing the importance of the architecture, sometimes called the print's main protagonist.³

Among the composition's unusual elements is the location of the Virgin and Child, who seem isolated until it becomes clear that the perspective is built around them; the angel announcing the birth of Christ is seen through the central archway, recognizable from the perspective drawing.⁴ This engraving also coincided with the decade in which Dürer produced the woodcuts for his 1511 *Life of the Virgin*, a series that shares this print's innovation and experimentation, including the open wall that permits the viewer direct access to the mother and child. This is familiar from earlier compositions, including Martin Schongauer's *Nativity*, but the orientation of the Christ child, at a three-quarter angle seen from behind his head, is less so, and seems designed to draw the viewer into the composition.⁵ Nearly every detail in the engraving announces Dürer as an innovator who had absorbed Italian theory and was assimilating it to create his own new order: from the alignment of the buildings with the picture plane itself to the placement of Joseph at the literal center, allowing the force of the one-point perspective to draw the eye toward the mother and child. EW



Christ in Limbo, 1504–5

engraving, state i/ii

platemark: 8 1/2 × 6 3/4 in. (21.6 × 17.1 cm)

sheet: 8 5/8 × 6 7/8 in. (21.9 × 17.5 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in blue ink, CRJ [initials in the form of a circle] (Lugt 633b)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Charles J. Rosenbloom (1898–1973), Pittsburgh, PA; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1988

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 789, no. 22; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 6, 15, no. 16; Delaborde 1888, 109, no. 21; TIB, vol. 26 (The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School, no. 41-I); Emison 1985, 184

Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of *Christ in Limbo* illustrates an episode that occurred between Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection. The source of the imagery is the apochryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which describes Christ's descent with the Good Thief to deliver righteous Old Testament patriarchs from hell.¹ As in many depictions of the subject, Marcantonio's print shows Adam and Eve as the most important individuals to benefit from his sacrifice.² Both in the nude, they flank the long-tressed Christ who wears a robe marked by graceful swags of drapery and who gestures toward Adam in benediction. A hovering demon touches Christ's banner, this reverse gesture mocking the benediction of Adam. To the left, Eve covers her face and gestures protestingly toward a horn emitting the blast announcing her expulsion from paradise, while on the opposite side the Good Thief holds the cross of his own crucifixion, facing away from the viewer and peering into the depths of hell. The youthful figures and *contrapposto* stances of Adam and the Good Thief reflect the formal qualities of ancient sculpture that Marcantonio studied during his training.³

Marcantonio engraved *Christ in Limbo* around the middle of the first decade of the 1500s, while he was still living in his native Bologna and prior to his mature work in Venice, Florence, and Rome. Although recent scholarship on this artist has focused mainly on his active collaborations with Albrecht Dürer and Raphael in Venice and Rome, Marzia Faietti and Konrad Oberhuber have argued that in this print Marcantonio worked in a more independent mode, without the direct compositional input from artists such as Francesco Francia (c. 1450–1517) or Andrea Mantegna that earlier scholars had suggested.⁴ Whether we accept the composition of *Christ in Limbo* as Marcantonio's alone, it is clear that his Bolognese engravings as a group show a strong artistic personality emerging during his immersion in the flourishing humanist center of Renaissance Bologna.⁵ *Christ in Limbo* in particular demonstrates his already masterful use of fine parallel burin strokes to evoke three-dimensional form, and so exemplifies Marcantonio's early style developed from his close observation of ancient sculpture in Bologna. CMBP and LP



Cat. 32



Cat. 33

32–33

Giulio Campagnola, Italian, c. 1482–after 1515

Christ and the Woman of Samaria, c. 1510

engravings, states i and ii/ii

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

(32) state i

sheet, trimmed: 5 3/16 × 7 3/8 in. (13.2 × 18.7 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in black ink: FL [separated by a crowned shield]

(Lugt 4398)

PROVENANCE: Fürst von Liechtenstein; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

(33) state ii

platemark: 5 3/16 × 7 7/16 in. (13.2 × 18.9 cm)

sheet: 5 7/16 × 7 9/16 in. (13.8 × 19.2 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in purple ink: AB [with flower on shield] (Lugt 796)

PROVENANCE: Alfred Vaughan (d. before 1913), London and Brighton; Dr. Albert W. Blum (1882–1952), Switzerland and Short Hills, NJ; M. Knoedler & Co., New York and London; Colnaghi, London; Sotheby's New York, May 3, 1996, Lot 26

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 767, no. 1; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 5, 164, no. 2; Kristeller 1907, no. 2; Borenius 1923, 102, no. 8; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 200–201, no. 11; Washington 1973, 395 and 402; TIB, vol. 25 (G. Campagnola, no. 2); Paris 1993, no. 128; Rome 1995, 294–95, cat. 75; Lambert 1999, no. 705; Providence 2009, 24 and 25, cat. 15

Impressions of both the first and second states of Giulio Campagnola's *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* are included in the Weil collection, offering a beautiful demonstration of the complexity of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints.¹ While many engravers reworked their plates to modify their compositions, here the second state is not the result of a purposeful alteration but of accidental damage to the plate, evidenced by dark marks visible to the right of the tower.² Most distinctively, the first and second states also differ in tonal character. Furthermore, in the Weil impression of the first state, many intricacies of the composition are obscured by a fluid wash of plate tone. Aspects of the composition that are concealed by a veil of ink in this first-state impression are clearly visible in other impressions of the first state, as they are in the second state.³

Although it has been suggested that the composition may be by Giorgione (c. 1477–1510) or Titian (1485–90?–1576), *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, like the *Young Shepherd* (cat. 2), exemplifies Giulio Campagnola's use of the stipple engraving technique, of which he is often credited as the inventor, and which contributes to the painterly effect apparent in the first state in particular.⁴ Stippling entails the use of many small dots to achieve a varied tonal range. The engraver uses the tip of the burin to produce pinpricklike depressions in the plate so that tiny dots of ink are transferred onto the support, allowing for subtler gradations of light and dark than traditional line-work engraving. *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* showcases the artist's purposeful integration of the two techniques, while background portions of the composition (such as the vista and the hillside) are executed entirely in line and components of the middle- and foreground are formed through linear marks and stippled shading.

The narrative depicted is an episode from the Gospel of John (4:5–42). Traveling from Judea to Galilee, Christ encounters a woman from Samaria at Jacob’s well. When Christ asks for a drink of water, the Samaritan recoils in indignation, affronted that a Jew would speak to her. Christ expounds, “Everyone who drinks of this water will thirst again, but whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him will never thirst.” The image portrays the moment at which the Samaritan realizes that her interlocutor is the Messiah—the living water—as evidenced by her arrested action and sharply turned head.

In the biblical text, Christ sits at the well, and the Samaritan woman approaches, but their positions are reversed in this pictorial retelling,⁵ underscoring Christ’s intervening role in the narrative. A diagonal formed by the rolling hills in the middle ground connects Jesus and the woman, visualizing the impact of his words.⁶ Christ’s body is truncated by the image’s left edge, suggesting that he has just entered from outside the picture’s border—a graphic metaphor for his entry into the human realm from a spiritual one.⁷ The ordering of the composition, furthermore, alludes to the iconography of the Annunciation, as the archangel Gabriel is almost always depicted entering from the left.⁸ LM and LP

34

Marcantonio Raimondi, Italian, c. 1470/1482–c. 1527/1534
after Raphael, Italian, 1483–1520

Saint Cecilia, 1515–16

engraving

image: 10 1/4 × 6 1/8 in. (26 × 15.6 cm)

platemark: 10 7/8 × 6 5/16 in. (27.6 × 16 cm)

sheet: 12 5/8 × 8 1/8 in. (32.1 × 20.6 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Pace Master Prints, New York

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 792, no. 60; Delaborde 1888, 143, no. 92; TIB, vol. 26 (The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School, no. 116); Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82, 112–14; Connolly 1994, 239, no. 8–1; Meyer zur Capellen 2005, vol. 2, 124–32

Marcantonio Raimondi collaborated closely with Raphael in a variety of modes after they met around 1510, including projects designed specifically for engraving and others that related to extant paintings.¹ The *Saint Cecilia* print is one of the latter type, transposing Raphael’s painting *Saint Cecilia* (fig. 29) into the medium of engraving.² The painting had been commissioned around 1514 by noblewoman Elena Duglioli dall’Olio to be the altarpiece in the chapel of Saint Cecilia in the church of San Giovanni in Monte, in Bologna, whereas the engraving enabled a wider, geographically dispersed audience for Raphael’s composition.³ Marcantonio engraved the print not from the finished painting itself but using either a lost compositional drawing by Raphael or the drawing attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni (c. 1496–c. 1528) now in the Petit Palais in Paris (fig. 30).⁴





Fig. 29. Raphael, Italian, 1483–1520; *Saint Cecilia, Patron Saint of Music, with Saints Paul, John the Evangelist, Augustine and Mary Magdalene*, 1513–16; canvas transferred from panel; 93 11/16 × 59 1/16 in. (238 × 150 cm); Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna Inv. 577



Fig. 30. attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni, Italian, c. 1496–c. 1528; *Compositional Study for Saint Cecilia*, 1514; pen, brush, and wash with white heightening over black chalk; 10 9/16 × 6 7/16 in. (26.8 × 16.3 cm); Musée du Petit Palais, Paris Dutuit 9820

As a result, there are significant differences between the print and the altarpiece, though the engraving's general composition, sculptural forms, and lighting follow those of the painting. The painting's dark blue sky opens up to a heavenly choir of angels singing from an open songbook, whereas two angels playing a violin and a harp appear in Marcantonio's print. Marcantonio has altered Saint Cecilia's pose, as well as the gestures and gazes of the surrounding saints. For instance, in the painting, Cecilia bears her weight on her left leg, slightly turns toward Saint Paul, and raises her face to heaven, while tilting her head toward Saint Augustine. But the print follows Penni's drawing (fig. 30) in reversing her pose to turn her toward Mary Magdalene and barely raising her head. This enhances the direction of Cecilia's finely engraved eyes toward heaven, and her contemplative visage further communicates her rapture. Furthermore, various instruments painted at Cecilia's feet in the altarpiece—a flute, triangle, tambourine, lira da gamba, and drums—are clearly broken,

whereas the engraving features a songbook and fewer seemingly intact instruments in the foreground, where a prominently placed harp bears the engraver's MAF monogram and the inscription *RAPH IVE* (meaning "Raphael invented this").⁵

The story of Saint Cecilia, the central figure of both print and painting, was well known in Renaissance Europe. Cecilia, a young Christian noblewoman on her way to be married, hears the wedding music and, as the earliest account of her life reports, she sings "to God alone in her heart" (*in corde suo soli Domino*) to protect her virginity. Though she marries Valerian, the husband chosen by her parents, Cecilia convinces him to abide by her vow of chastity. However, because of their faith, they were both martyred.⁶ The iconography of Saint Cecilia evolved during the Renaissance.⁷ Late-fifteenth-century manuscripts and paintings often showed her near—but not playing—an organ to indicate her rejection of secular pleasures, while also including a palm and a sword as references to her martyrdom. By the early sixteenth century, the organ could stand alone as the expected attribute for the saint. In this iconographic evolution, Raphael's conception of Saint Cecilia is a startling one: the saint holds the expected instrument, but far from playing it, she turns the instrument upside down, rendering the pipes inoperative.

The handsome Weil impression demonstrates the rich subtlety of Marcantonio's graphic vocabulary, visible not only in the long strokes of Cecilia's drapery but also in the fine curves, flecks, and dots that define, for instance, her face and the anatomy of her throat. The five figures are illuminated from the upper left, with bright highlights of bare paper contrasted with areas that are deep in shadow. For example, at the left side of the composition, Saint Paul is positioned so that his back and right upper arm and calf are highlighted, while the broad folds of drapery facing the center of the composition are increasingly crosshatched, culminating in the densest, darkest area just beneath his forearm. Marcantonio's graphic chiaroscuro is most strikingly demonstrated on the figure of Saint Cecilia herself: along her left side, the middle tone is created by parallel vertical lines and fine curved lines on her drapery, while the brightest areas of illumination fall on her right breast. This contrast perhaps references how her heart sang to God to retain her chastity.⁸ JTB and LP



Saint Sebastian, first quarter 17th century

bronze; the figure with gilding; the tree with brown-black patina

figure: 18 5/8 × 7 15/16 × 4 3/8 in. (47.3 × 20.2 × 11.1 cm)

tree: 20 13/16 × 6 1/4 × 5 1/2 in. (52.9 × 15.9 × 14 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Alex Wengraf, Ltd., London, until 1998

Sebastian, a Roman soldier, was tortured for his advocacy of martyrdom as a means to undermine Roman rule. He was bound to a tree and shot full of arrows. Renaissance artists portrayed him upright and tied to a column or tree to focus on his idealized masculine form. During the Counter-Reformation, however, artists emphasized the saint's suffering, showing him isolated and in pain. This sculpture, with its gilded body contrasted against the blackened tree, provides just such a powerful image of early Christian martyrdom. Although there are no arrows in Sebastian's torso or thigh, schematized renderings of blood issue from the body to underscore the theme of sacrifice.¹

This composition was widely replicated in the seventeenth century, although no one has successfully identified the author of the original design. When viewed from the side Sebastian's body appears compressed. This flatness suggests that it may not have been the invention of a sculptor, but rather was a motif adapted from a two-dimensional model. Its pathos, for example, comes very close to several renderings of this subject by the Neapolitan painter Jusepe de Ribera (fig. 31). Johanna Hecht has suggested a painting by Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610) as its source.² Another theory on the origin of the composition holds that Sebastian's body may have first been crafted from ivory (its girth limited to the dimensions of the tusk), and then placed against a wooden tree trunk.³

At least thirty examples of this figure are known, although they are not all identical, particularly in the metals chosen for Saint Sebastian.⁴ Some are uniformly bronze in



Fig. 31. Jusepe de Ribera, Spanish, c. 1590–1652; *Saint Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene and Her Handmaiden*, c. 1630–40; oil on canvas; 81 7/8 × 61 13/16 in. (208 × 157 cm); Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia

coloration, including the earliest documented example (1658) in the Liechtenstein collection. It lacks both loincloth and wounds, although Joanna Hecht has argued that it originally sported a silver loincloth.⁵ Two other versions were produced without the loincloth. The finishing details also vary, making it clear that many different workshops produced variations of this composition.

Suggested attributions for the originating artist range from the German Georg Petel (c. 1601–2–c. 1634) to a Florentine follower of Giambologna (Pietro Tacca, 1577–1640, is the most popular) and to the Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy (1597–1643). The association with Duquesnoy was first put forward by Erica Tietze-Conrat in 1918, and then further supported by Ursula Schlegel who associated it with Duquesnoy's ivory crucifix at San Giovanni Laterano.⁶ None of them, however, can be identified as the maker of this particular cast. The hair and mustache lack volume and the definition of individual strands is rather cursory (see detail, p. 86). In fact, the artist has relied on extensive incising to define these features. Nonetheless, the power of the contorted pose, the open eyes and mouth, and the beautiful play of the shiny gilded surface against the flat dark tree make it clear why the image was so popular. JWM

36

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528

Saint Jerome Penitent in the Wilderness, c. 1496

engraving, state ii/ii

sheet, trimmed: 12 3/4 × 8 7/8 in. (32.4 × 22.5 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in brown ink: [illegible, 16th-century hand?]; stamped in black ink: R. Sch. (Lugt 2241); stamped in purple ink: [flower in shield] (Lugt 2749/50)

Collection of Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Hans von und zu Aufsess (1801–1872), Nuremberg; Robert Scholtz (1834–1912), Budapest

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meder 1932, no. 67; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 77 and 82; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 168; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 57); Boston 1971, cat. 11; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 352; Washington 1971, cat. 10; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 61); Schoch 2001, no. 6; Vienna 2003, cat. 45; Vienna-Washington 2013, cat. 5

37

Jusepe de Ribera, Spanish, c. 1590–1652

Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment, 1621

etching, drypoint, and engraving, only state

image: 12 7/16 × 9 3/8 in. (31.6 × 23.8 cm)

platemark: 12 11/16 × 9 9/16 in. (32.2 × 24.3 cm)

sheet: 12 13/16 × 9 13/16 in. (32.6 × 24.9 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: recto, written in brown ink: P. Mariette 1679 (Lugt 1789)

Collection of Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Pierre Mariette II (1634–1716), Paris

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brown 1973, 10–11 and 41–56, cat. 4; TIB, vol. 44 (Ribera, no. 5)



Cat. 36

Saint Jerome, or Hieronymus, as he was known in Latin, was one of Western Christianity's four Fathers of the Church. A prodigious scholar, he was much revered for translating large parts of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin, helping to produce the first authoritative version of the Latin Vulgate.¹ The fourteenth century saw a surge of interest in his life, and as a new cult of Jerome rapidly gained traction, so too did an evolving Hieronymite iconography

that portrayed the saint in turns as a scholar (cat. 49), a penitent, and somewhat later as a visionary thought to have witnessed the trumpet call of Last Judgment. Although they worked in different centuries, and on different sides of the Alps, both Albrecht Dürer and Jusepe de Ribera played influential roles in propagating these competing visions of the saint, whose exceptional popularity lasted well into the seventeenth century.

In its technical refinement as well as its size, which rivaled that of an easel painting, Dürer's engraving *Saint Jerome Penitent in the Wilderness* announced the artist's pioneering ambitions as a young printmaker. Jerome is depicted during his solitary three-year sojourn in the Syrian desert, devoted to penitence and prayer. Here he is seen kneeling in a sandy depression while contemplating a small crucifix that juts from the top of a withered tree stump. In his right hand is the rock he uses to beat his breast, an act of self-mortification meant, in his own words, to tame "the sweet fires of sensual pleasure."² The image of the penitent saint was undoubtedly familiar to Dürer from his 1495 trip to Italy, where it was a much-loved subject among Venetian artists such as Giovanni Bellini. In light of these circumstances, and because the cult of Hieronymite spirituality with its emphasis on penitential practice had less currency north of the Alps, Dürer is often credited as the first artist to introduce this imagery into northern markets. An anonymous woodcut illustration of the subject published by Anton Koberger in 1488 nonetheless suggests that the artist had access to at least one printed model circulating in German territories several years prior to his first Italian trip.³

Dürer's expert recruitment of the landscape as an actor in the drama of Jerome's penance is one of the engraving's most striking facets. The crenellated folds of a cliff in the sheet's upper right quadrant are based on studies of the Schmausenbuck quarry near Nuremberg, but they also bear an uncanny similarity to Dürer's early drapery studies, as though the artist meant to evoke a spiritual reality cloaked in the illusion of an enduring physical world.⁴ Elsewhere, as in the upper left quadrant of the engraving, sinister faces seem to emerge from the dark stony outcroppings looming over a forested trail, suggestive of perils along the penitent's path to salvation.⁵

In Jusepe de Ribera's etching *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment*, by contrast, the landscape is only sketchily delineated, while the focus is clearly on the figure of Jerome himself. This was the first work in which Ribera treated the subject of the visionary Jerome, a motif whose iconography he had a significant hand in developing and to which he would consistently return throughout his career, both in the print medium and in numerous paintings.⁶ Turning away from his books in the bottom left corner, the central figure of the penitent Jerome looks up to the right to apprehend the trumpet as it issues from the clouds—an unexpected shift that simultaneously seems to announce his own shifting artistic identity, from scholar to penitent and finally visionary.

Ribera's etching also reveals his search for a more sophisticated style supported by a broader range of techniques. Jerome's lion, for instance, is hidden among a newly dense network of parallel and crosshatched lines, while light flicks of the needle model the loose folds of skin

on the saint's arms with exceptional subtlety. Ribera's agitated line ably conveys his surprise but also enhances the charged atmosphere wrought by this sudden and portentous turn of events. Curiously, the moment is accidentally underscored by two sets of lines—the result of careless exposure to acid—running down both sides of the plate, conjuring a completely unintended *repoussoir* effect. By tightly framing the saint's sighting of the trumpet, they spotlight the theatrical sense of emotion that was to become a signature of seventeenth-century baroque art. LMC



Cat. 37



Section IV: Print Culture

Studies of printmaking in Europe tend to focus on the achievements of the painter-etchers or on the relationship of prints to painting, but in fact printmaking has its roots in the decorative arts. This section focuses on the fascinating subcategory of prints with more practical purposes that demonstrate those roots. These include Albrecht Dürer's monumental four-block woodcut column, which may have been designed to be pasted on a wall as an architectural accent, and Agostino Carracci's fanciful engraving that would have been cut up to be carried or worn on a festive occasion. Others record designs for silver, or illustrate books that document celebratory events such as the coronation of a Holy Roman emperor.

These prints provide information not only about the work that prints performed in the early modern era, as artisans' models or party decorations; they also enlighten us about the material, social, religious, and political culture of the time. The diversity of the Weils' collecting is exemplified by this section, which reveals how their curiosity reaches beyond beautiful objects of great artistic merit to include ones that also animate our understanding of history.



The Great Column, 1513–17

woodcut printed from four blocks, only state except uppermost block: state i/ii(?)

sheet, four sheets joined together: 63 × 10 7/8 in. (160 × 27.6 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: recto, stamped in black ink: FA II [interlaced and crowned; in oval] (Lugt 971)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Friedrich August II, King of Saxony (1797–1854), Dresden; Gutekunst & Klipstein, Bern, November 26, 1948, Lot 264; N. G. Stogdon, until 1995

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meder 1932, 257; Panofsky 1943, vol. II, no. 349; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 45); TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 129); Schoch 2002, no. 247

Albrecht Dürer's boundless imagination led him to create not only complex allegorical compositions in engraving—exemplified by *Melencolia I* (cat. 50)—he also produced designs for sculptural objects, from silver goblets to victory monuments. In the service of Emperor Maximilian I, he produced large-scale multi-block woodcuts, stand-alone paper monuments that demonstrate par excellence the unprecedented use of the printing press that distinguished Maximilian's reign.¹ Although we do not know the specific context for *The Great Column*, it clearly aligns with his work for the emperor in its utilization of the large multi-block woodcut as well as in its subject matter, as evidenced in a marginal decoration for the *Prayerbook of Maximilian*, which displays an almost identical column (fig. 32).

Most scholars agree that the column, printed from four blocks, is an early example of printed wallpaper, although it would have been used as an accent rather than an overall design, flanking a doorway perhaps. Its playful and erotic thematic structure resembles wallpaper of nymphs and satyrs by Sebald Beham in the Museum's collection.² Satyrs are known for their adherence to the cult of Bacchus and their unbridled sexual appetites, suggesting a salacious intent for this satyr's apotheosis atop the column. Dürer also treated the subject of satyrs with nymphs, harpies, and other like-minded creatures from Greek and Roman mythology elsewhere, including a 1505 engraving of a satyr family, as well as in Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch* (a monumental woodcut of c. 1515–18), where satyrs celebrate at the arch's apex, and harpies, sisters of the winged female creatures here, adorn columns flanking the central Arch of Honor.

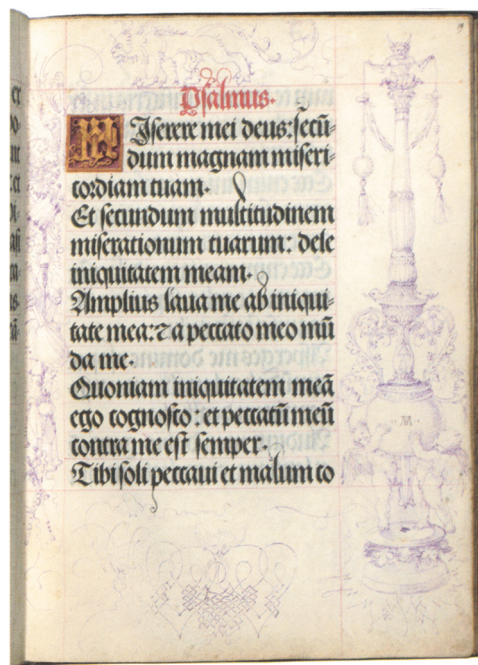


Fig. 32. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *Prayerbook of Maximilian*, fol. 195, 1515; 8 1/16 × 11 1/2 in. (20.5 × 29.2 cm); Bavarian State Library, Munich



Cat. 38 detail

These elements fit into well-established ancient iconography, but they also emerge here as Dürer's own invention, an earthy Germanic affirmation of antiquity with its roots (literally) in a turnip field. Dürer took particular interest in the ornamented columnar form, judging from the prominence of such monuments in his *Treatise on Measurement* (1525).³ While specifically citing the "famous Roman" Vitruvius's writings in the treatise, he proposed structures with a decidedly modern slant, such as his monument to a victory over rebellious peasants, a composite of farm produce and peasant's tools surmounted by a "melancholy peasant" with a sword in his back.⁴

The Great Column bears witness to Dürer's attentiveness to Italian ideals and his simultaneous refusal to accept them wholesale. From the central point at the rams' heads, this departure from the tenets of classical architecture becomes increasingly evident. Scanning down from the rams' heads, including the skull that dutifully follows the rule of *groteschi* in ancient wall decoration by morphing into acanthus leaves at the horns, one sees an irregular globe that supports the column.⁵ This globe seems to be giving birth to a root vegetable: a turnip emerges from the void of the globe, and the whole teetering structure is precariously buttressed by two chubby winged putti with miniature Michelangelesque proportions (see detail at left).

Erwin Panofsky described the tension between the ordered Italian idea of *groteschi*, in which the fanciful objects of Renaissance grotesque ornament are clearly artificial conceits, and the vigor of Dürer's creatures who appear ready to jump to life at any moment.⁶ The putti struggle arduously with their awkward turnip; the harpies stare at their bound lion paws, scheming to get free; and the satyr contentedly oversees the whole affair like a yogi, or perhaps an emperor addressing his people. EW

A Headpiece in the Form of a Fan, 1589–95

engraving, state i/ii

sheet, trimmed: 14 3/16 × 9 5/8 in. (36 × 24.4 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

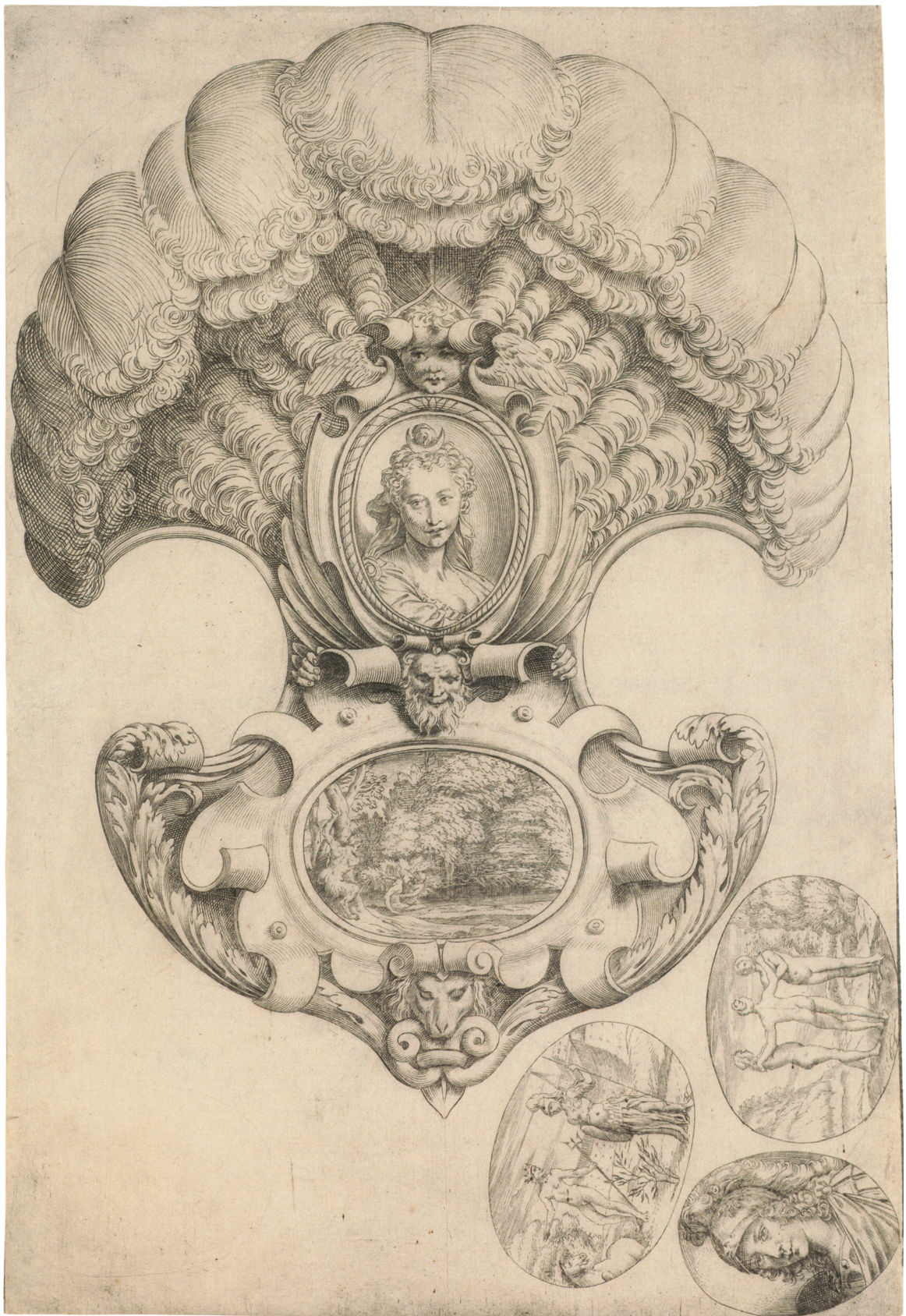
PROVENANCE: Carolyn Bullard, Dallas, TX, until 1992

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Malvasia (1678) 1841, vol. 1, 77; DeGrazia Bohlin 1979, no. 193; DeGrazia Bohlin 1984, no. 193; TIB, vol. 39 (Carracci, no. 260); Miller 1999, 204–5; Zagala 2010, 42–43

Late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints fulfilled a variety of purposes for their earliest consumers, who often cut them apart in order to paste parts of them onto walls, domestic furnishings, and manuscripts as personalized decorations.¹ Some prints were actually designed to be cut out and used, for scientific purposes or for enjoyment, like this one.² Agostino Carracci's printed *Headpiece in the Form of a Fan* is a remarkable demonstration of this type of "disposable commodity" still in its original pristine, uncut condition.³ The "fan" template itself dominates the center of the page, its printed ostrich plumes billowing forward to draw attention to an oval bust-length image of Diana. Below the crescent-moon-crowned goddess, a second vignette in the lower portion of the fan's body contains a scene of a satyr spying on two lovers, while three ovals haphazardly positioned in the negative space at the lower right-hand corner of the print contain three alternate images. The print's user could choose to cut out the oval depiction of Minerva, for instance, and paste it over the Diana, thereby substituting the helmeted goddess of wisdom for the virgin goddess of the hunt on the fan.

There is dispute over the function of the print, and it is by no means certain that the central image is a fan or a headpiece or a fanciful combination of the two. While some scholars embrace the description of the main image as a fan given the "burgeoning market for 'throw-away' fans,"⁴ others find the shape too cumbersome and lacking a place for the handle needed for a fan.⁵ These scholars postulate that the piece could function as a headpiece, given its similarity to other headpieces and helmets of the period.⁶ Indeed, the narrow middle section of the image would make using the engraving as a fan unwieldy.

KM and LP



Covered Cup with an Upright Landscape,
from a series of 23 designs for vessels, 1603

punched print, only state

published by Hieronymus Bang, German, 1553–1630

platemark, trimmed: 11 13/16 × 5 1/16 in. (30 × 12.9 cm)

sheet: 11 7/8 × 5 1/4 in. (30.2 × 13.3 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf and New York, until 1992

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hollstein (Flindt, no. 131)

Nuremberg remained an important center of printmaking even a century after Albrecht Dürer made his first engravings there, although the character of the industry in the decades around 1600 was quite different from the heady years of Dürer's productivity. Whereas Dürer, whose father was a goldsmith, maneuvered his metalworking roots into a game-changing career in which he produced works in many media for purposes ranging from altarpieces to ornament design, by the 1590s when Paul Flindt the Younger published his first series of ornament prints, the production of prints representing designs for decorative objects was no longer in the realm of wide-ranging painter-printmakers, but rather was done by specialized goldsmiths who focused on a particular industry niche.¹

Flindt was part of such a group of specialized goldsmiths active in Nuremberg between 1580 and 1620, who published a distinctive group of punch or punched prints that demonstrate a broad vocabulary of elaborately detailed forms and decorations for silver drinking vessels intended for private, secular use. Largely produced in series that range in size from fewer than ten to forty prints each, they amount to pattern books intended for other artists and artisans to use in their own production. Flindt, who produced more than two hundred prints, mostly but not exclusively punch prints, was the most prolific of these goldsmith-printmakers.² The playful grotesque ornament recalls the ancient decorative wall paintings that were discovered in the Golden House of Nero in the fifteenth century, carrying that long tradition into the baroque period. One of Flindt's particular contributions was his insertion of landscape and figurative scenes into his designs, like the mountainous landscape seen within the oval here.³

In both technique and purpose, the activity of Flindt and his contemporaries recalls the beginnings of engraving in the first half of the fifteenth century, when it was goldsmiths who first recognized that they could print their designs when engraved into flat sheets of metal.⁴ These artisans employed the same tools they used to decorate objects, including various types of punches, evidence of which can be clearly seen in their engravings, which typically combine burin and line work alongside decorative motifs achieved using their shaped punches. Flindt used lightly sketched-in drypoint outlines—still visible in this impression—as a guide for making fine punch marks. Each line is then made up of tiny dots placed one alongside the



other, while the shading is created with yet more, often lighter punch marks, perhaps made with a smaller punch, or simply by applying lighter pressure to the same punch.

Technically stunning, these prints were not made to stand on their own, but to aid in the production of silver objects, and although certainly not every design in these prints had a counterpart in the physical world, they provide a dizzying sense of what the side tables and silver cabinets of Nuremberg's upper-middle-class houses would have looked like at the time.⁵ EW

41a-b

Luca Ciamberlano, Italian, 1586–1641

after Niccolo Tornioli, Italian, 1598–1651 or 1652

Pyrotechnic Machine, 2 illustrations from Luigi Manzini, *Applausi festivi fatti in Roma per l'elezzione di Ferdinando III al regno de' Romani* (Rome: Pietro Antonio Facciotti, 1637)

etchings with engraving, only state

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

(a)

image: 14 1/16 × 9 1/8 in. (35.7 × 23.2 cm)

platemark: 14 3/16 × 9 5/8 in. (36 × 24.4 cm)

sheet: 14 1/4 × 9 5/8 in. (36.2 × 24.4 cm)

(b)

image: 13 13/16 × 9 in. (35.1 × 22.9 cm)

platemark: 14 × 9 3/16 in. (35.6 × 23.3 cm)

sheet: 14 1/4 × 9 5/16 in. (36.2 × 23.7 cm)

PROVENANCE: Carolyn Bullard, Dallas, TX, until 2005

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dell'Arco and Carandini 1977–78, I, 99–104; Salatino 1997, 50–1, 54

As a broker for the 1648 Peace of Westphalia that diminished his family's power in Europe, Ferdinand III (1608–1657) is often neglected in histories of Habsburg achievements. Nonetheless he remains important as a case study in Habsburg political self-fashioning, especially in the late 1630s when he was repeatedly represented in multiple media as a pious and powerful warrior. Luigi Manzini's *Applausi festivi* was part of this media flood, one of fourteen printed festival books published in Rome in 1637 to record the many celebrations of Ferdinand III's coronation as King of the Romans and subsequent election as Holy Roman emperor.¹ Manzini's book contained prints showing the Palazzo Monte Giordano, the site of the festivities; three architectural structures built for the event; and seven different views of the mechanized stage for fireworks, or pyrotechnic machine, including Luca Ciamberlano's two engravings in the Weil collection.²

As is customary of festival books that offered official accounts of weddings, triumphal entries, and the like, the *Applausi festivi* chronicles the celebratory program of Ferdinand's coronation through a poetic lens that emphasizes the grandeur of the event and its patrons.³ Particular attention is given to the festival's main attraction, the pyrotechnic machine. For three consecutive nights, this machine served as the stage for a series of allegorical battles in which Ferdinand symbolically defeated various adversaries.⁴ Each night, a particular allegorical program was exhibited: first the current struggle and inevitable victory of the Holy Roman Empire over German Protestant princes; second the defeat of heresy (Protestantism); third and lastly the fall of the Ottoman Turks.⁵ These engravings are labeled C and E in the upper left corner, indicating they are the third and fifth illustrations in the book, respectively. They start and close the first allegorical program.



Cat. 41a

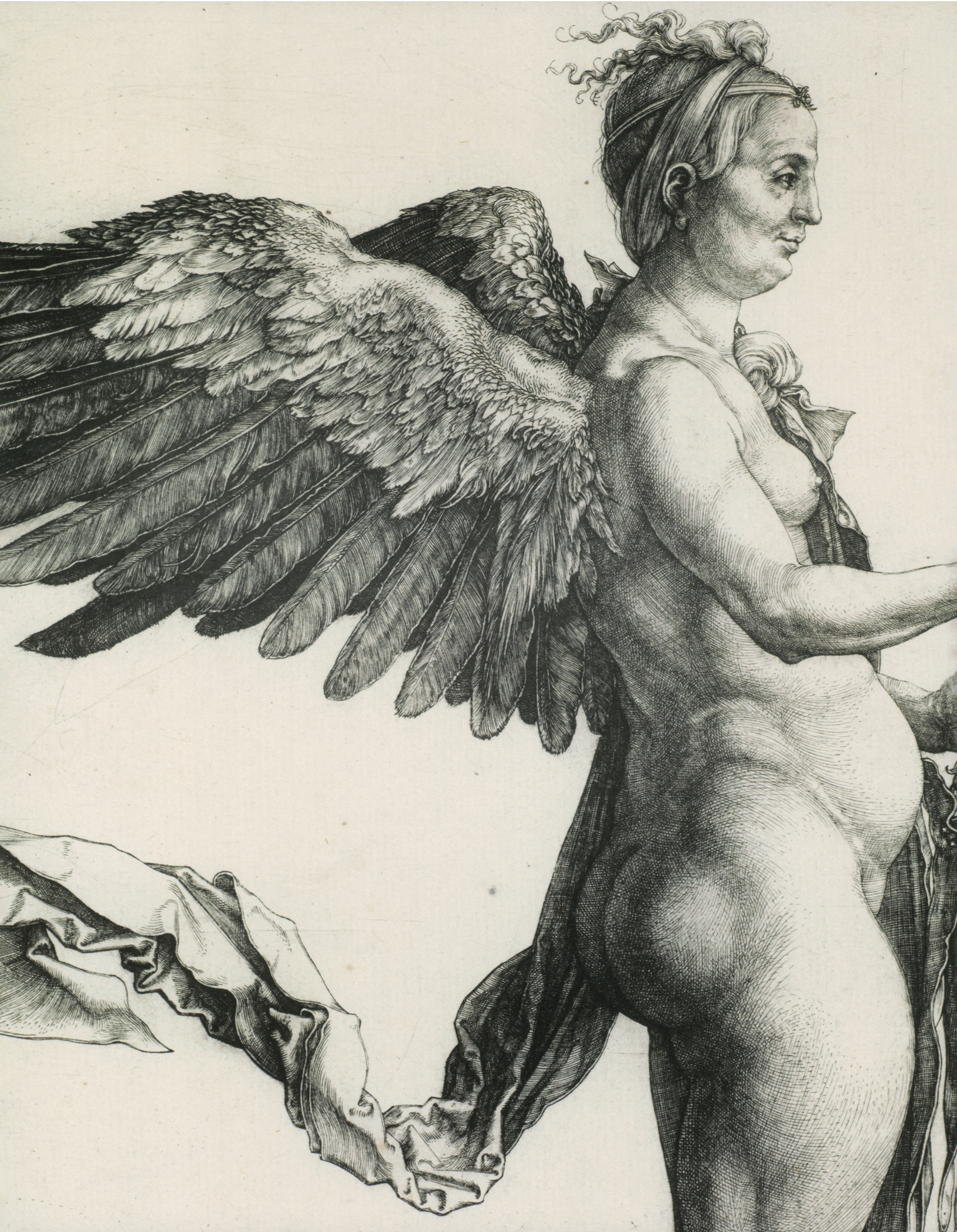
All the battles are set on the volcanic Mount Etna, which, as the ancient author Apollodorus recounts, Zeus cast upon the fire-breathing monster Typhon, subduing the beast and causing “blasts of fire [to] issue from the thunderbolts that were thrown.”⁶ The pyrotechnic machine thus exploits Etna’s volcanic activity as a prime setting for a fireworks display, while associating Ferdinand with Zeus’s great victory. The printmaking techniques themselves convey either material solidity or evanescent power: the architectural forms and the sculptural figures are made with the firm, sure strokes of engraving, whereas the fire and smoke emerging from the creatures’ mouths show etching’s characteristic loose scribbles.

Pyrotechnic Machine (C) introduces the Catholic king, represented by the Holy Roman Empire’s double-headed black eagle, and the Protestants, considered heretics and thus depicted as creatures emerging from the mountain’s dark crevasses. At the summit, a three-headed dog recalling Cerberus, guardian of the underworld and son of Typhon, bays at the double-headed eagle. The eagle defends the military regalia atop Mount Etna with wings outstretched, symbolizing Ferdinand’s rise to power and his readiness to confront his enemies.⁷ In *Pyrotechnic Machine (E)*, the allegory reaches its culmination with the bird’s ascension into the clouds, from which the eagle—in fully heraldic form—unleashes thunder (as did Zeus) upon the infernal creatures spitting fire aggressively upward from below.

It is highly unlikely that the sculptural elements of the pyrotechnic machine existed exactly as described in the text, or as illustrated in the printed image. In fact, it is irrelevant whether they did or not, since the spectacle was meant to be understood, at least partly, on paper. Manzini writes in the *Applausi* that “[His Majesty] desired that each night programs [*cartelli*] be distributed, the contents of which would reveal to the eyes the artifice and the aim of the *macchina* there proposed.”⁸ The loose *cartelli* and the festival book thus not only guided the interpretation of the pyrotechnic display, but also were fundamental elements of the festival itself.⁹ AS and LP



Cat. 41b



Section V: Master Printmakers: Andrea Mantegna, Albrecht Dürer, and Rembrandt van Rijn

Printmaking's history is marked by a handful of individuals who transformed the artistic possibilities of print in their time, and works by three of the most notable of these artists are included here. Andrea Mantegna was long considered to be the earliest painter-printmaker, yet in spite of a substantial artistic, literary, and archival record, questions persist, including whether he actually made any engravings himself. But even if he did not put burin to metal, he conceived of a startling body of engraved work that disseminated his style and augmented his fame for centuries afterward. His younger contemporary Dürer acquired his manual skills from his goldsmith father, but he also trained as a painter, and with that combined background he ambitiously expanded the boundaries of what an engraving or a woodcut could be far beyond what his immediate predecessors had imagined. In the following century, Rembrandt took advantage of the flexibility of etching, which had been exploited by painters—including Dürer—for over a century, but he too created a completely new graphic vocabulary in dialogue with his paintings and drawings. The Weil collection includes an exceptional selection of works by these artists that is distinguished by its quality and variety.

42

attributed to Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

Entombment with Four Birds, n.d.

engraving, only state

sheet, trimmed: 17 5/16 × 14 in. (44 × 35.6 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 497; Borenius 1923, 36, no. 9; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 21, no. 11b; Washington 1973, cat. 79; TIB, vol. 25 (Andrea Mantegna and His School, no. 2-A); London-New York 1992, cat. 29; Lambert 1999, no. 411; Paris 2008, 245, cat. 86

43

after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

Virgin in the Grotto, n.d.

engraving with pen and ink additions, state i/ii

sheet, trimmed: 13 13/16 × 10 1/8 in. (35.1 × 25.7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 495; Borenius 1923, 37, no. 10; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 22, no. 13; Washington 1973, cat. 81; TIB, vol. 25 (Andrea Mantegna and His School, no. 9); London-New York 1992, 21–1; Lambert 1999, no. 414a; Paris 2008, 248

44

after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

Flagellation, n.d.

engraving, only state

sheet: 15 3/8 × 12 1/4 in. (39.1 × 31.1 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Hofbibliothek, Vienna; Frits Lugt (1884–1970), Paris; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ottley 1816, vol. 2, 495–96; Borenius 1923, 31, no. 4; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 17, no. 8; Washington 1973, cat. 78; TIB, vol. 25 (Andrea Mantegna and His School, no. 1); London-New York 1992, cat. 36; Zurich 1998, cat. 31; Lambert 1999, no. 406a; Paris 2008, 248, cat. 88

Andrea Mantegna, born the son of a carpenter, rose to great distinction as the court painter to three generations of Gonzaga nobility in Mantua, where he resided from 1460 until his death in 1506. Barely a half century after Mantegna's death, Giorgio Vasari identified the artist's leading role in the invention of "the art of engraving impressions of figures on copper" in the first edition of his *Lives*, an assertion he modified in the second edition, where he wrote instead that "[Mantegna] took delight in making engravings on copper."¹ The corpus of

prints that relates most closely to Mantegna's work—some possibly by his own hand as well as others that were clearly made by different engravers, at least some of them presumably under his employ—numbers about two dozen. All attest to Mantegna's pictorial intelligence and his willingness to expand the possibilities of a brand-new medium in newfound directions. The Weil prints are exemplary impressions that impart a nuanced view of what printmaking in the circle of Mantegna was intended to be.

Beginning with Vasari, who made the earliest mention of Mantegna's involvement with prints in 1550, writers have debated which of the prints were by the master (with the consensus hovering around seven). However, since the 1992 Mantegna exhibition in London and New York, momentum has risen for the counterargument that he himself authored none of those prints.² The essence of both sides of the debate is encapsulated in the catalogue to that exhibition, in which David Landau set forth an impassioned case for attributing eleven prints to Mantegna (four more than the consensus established first by Vasari in 1550 and 1568, and by Paul Kristeller in 1901–2), and Suzanne Boorsch wrote an equally impassioned argument against Mantegna's authorship of any prints at all, attributing the twenty-three accepted by Bartsch to a single hand, whom she called the "Premier Engraver." Since 1992, a number of documents have surfaced, and the debate has continued, with no true resolution in sight. It is clear from the sheer variety of interpretations that each author brings the subjectivity of his or her own time to the question and barring magical discoveries in the future, the debate will continue indefinitely.

David Landau and Shelley Fletcher, art historian and paper conservator, respectively, have based their arguments on physical properties in the engravings.³ Fletcher, for example, examined the core group of seven prints under magnification using techniques well known in technical studies of paintings where they are used to formulate opinions about authorship. Both have concluded that the technical development of a single talented and idiosyncratic engraver can be traced in these plates. In particular, Fletcher observed that the engraver changed the compositions during the process of working in the plate, noting that such changes midway through the process would not occur if a goldsmith-engraver were simply transferring the artist's drawing to the plate.

While convincing arguments in favor of Mantegna's authorship focus on a close examination of the prints themselves, the strength of the counterarguments resides in documentary evidence, not only the long-known documentation from the Mantua archive, in which Mantegna solicited the work of the goldsmith Simone Ardizzoni da Reggia to make engravings from his drawings in 1475, but also newly discovered Mantuan documents published by Andrea Canova naming a second goldsmith who was commissioned to engrave Mantegna's designs, one Gian Marco Cavalli.⁴ These arguments also assert that it is unlikely that an artist of Mantegna's stature would have been able to master the art of engraving on the level required without the intensive training goldsmith-engravers pursued.⁵ An additional recent discovery, by Rodolfo Signorini, demonstrates that Mantegna's son owned seven printing plates bearing compositions by Mantegna—presumably inherited from the artist himself—evidence that would be good news for either side.⁶ Clearly both positions have merit.

The issue cannot be resolved in the present entry, but I would cite Evelyn Lincoln's productive position that—whether or not Mantegna was an engraver himself—his impact on art history was nonetheless monumental, since he “conceive[d] of engraved images as taking part in the same courtly, humanist discourses that surrounded the importance of drawing. . . .”⁷ Mantegna clearly sought to introduce engraving into the larger artistic dialogues of his time, and in doing so foresaw a use for printmaking on a previously unheard-of scale.⁸

Each of these three engravings has at one time or another been seen as an authentic work by Mantegna, and yet questions of attribution and technique, fascinating as they are, threaten to obscure other discussions about the works and their meaning, not to mention the ways in which they can be understood as part of Mantegna's legacy. All three depict subjects from the life of Christ. Each print has its own, more or less clearly defined relationship to other works by the artist, drawings and/or paintings, although only one, the *Virgin in the Grotto* (cat. 43), has an exact match, while the other two have fragmentary antecedents at best. Two of them represent unfinished compositions, raising questions about their purpose, and how widely they would have circulated in Mantegna's lifetime. In fact, it is not even clear to what extent Mantegna's prints in general were known in his lifetime, although they were certainly familiar to the cognoscenti.⁹ On the other hand, it is more than evident from the large number of later impressions printed from the increasingly worn-out plates that they were much sought after by subsequent generations, including the plates that remained in the artist's family after his death and were printed in France in the sixteenth century.¹⁰

The *Entombment with Four Birds* (cat. 42) is an exemplary impression that communicates clearly what we expect of a fifteenth-century Italian engraving: a gray atmospheric tonality that is essentially the antithesis of the crisply black and white aesthetic of a Dürer engraving and suggests not only the use of an ink with a different color, but also perhaps a different viscosity, and potentially even a different printing method.¹¹ The image is made up of strong contour lines in combination with often short parallel or zigzagging strokes closer together or farther apart depending on the contours and shadows needed to convey the shape, with

crosshatching reserved only for the very darkest passages. This method of building up an image has some counterparts in work by other early Italian engravers, including Antonio Pollaiuolo, whose *Battle of the Nudes* is the only other fifteenth-century Italian engraving that rivals Mantegna's at this early date (fig. 33).



Fig. 33. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Italian, 1431/32–1498; *Battle of the Nudes*, c. 1470; engraving; 15 1/4 × 22 1/4 in. (38.8 × 56.5 cm); Saint Louis Art Museum, Bequest of Horace M. Swope 678:1940

No model for the *Entombment with Four Birds* survives, neither drawing nor painting, although its close relationship to Mantegna's religious paintings of the late 1450s, notably the predella panels of his celebrated San Zeno altarpiece, is frequently noted. This is accurate



Cat. 42

in as much as these compositions contain midsize figures placed within an expansive, rocky landscape, which describes much of his devotional work of the 1450s and 1460s. This includes the San Zeno predella pictures as well as the *Adoration of the Magi* now in the Uffizi (fig. 34) which is presumed to be among his earliest works at Mantua, and is, more specifically, the direct model for the *Virgin in the Grotto*, as will be seen below.

Mantegna's deep interest in sculpture, evident throughout his work, may arguably have been a factor in his decision to engage in engraving (whether as engraver or commissioner of engravings), an inherently sculptural process. This proclivity for the sculptural can be traced back to the study of ancient statuary he was exposed to in the workshop of Francesco Squarcione (c. 1435–after 1468) in Padua.¹² It is generally discussed in relation to the chiseled, unlikelike character of his figures: in this engraving Christ's stiff body is being lowered into an ancient sarcophagus surrounded by mourners whose robes echo their chiseled surroundings.

The stony landscape dominating the *Entombment* is an effective metonym for this most characteristic aspect of Mantegna's work as a whole. The figures around the sarcophagus are clearly in mourning, as are the three women and a man who are situated immediately in front of the sarcophagus, but the landscape is itself an important sculptural element, with a distinctively hand-wrought character, as though not just drawn but carved by the artist. The ground appears to be in motion, and the steps in the foreground create a stage upon which the actors are presented, seemingly just having been chiseled out for that purpose, with stone fragments from the process strewn carefully about. At their own peril, a few hardy trees manage to persevere in this desert landscape.

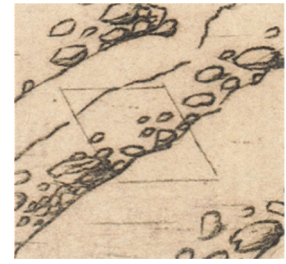
Two other variants of the present composition, but with three instead of four birds, are part of the larger group of engravings relating to Mantegna, in addition to a dramatic horizontal *Entombment* in which the figures dominate the composition (fig. 35a). This latter print is among the seven traditionally considered to have been engraved by Mantegna, and its relationship to sculpture has an additional dimension since the planar composition mimics low-relief sculptural compositions like those by Donatello (c. 1386–1466), the Florentine sculptor whose time in Padua overlapped with Mantegna's early career there. The horizontal



Fig. 34. Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506; *Adoration of the Magi*, central panel, 1462–70; tempera and gold on panel; 30 5/16 × 29 1/2 in. (77 × 75 cm); Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence XAL30010



Cat. 43



left: Fig. 35a.
Andrea Mantegna, Italian,
c. 1431–1506; *Entombment*,
1465–70, engraving; sheet:
11 3/4 × 17 3/8 in. (29.9 ×
44.2 cm); Patrons' Permanent
Fund, National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C. 1986.98.1

above: Fig. 35b. detail, lower
left corner

format and the figures drawn out in linear fashion across the shallow space of the composition give the effect of limited depth. The figures consequently merge with the landscape, providing a more intense focus on the emotional impact of the event.

It should be no surprise that the dating of Mantegna's prints is as complex and difficult to pin down as their attribution. The *Entombment with Four Birds* has been difficult to date because the composition so clearly derives from his early career, and yet most scholars have placed his activity as a printmaker between 1475, when we know he solicited help from a goldsmith to engrave his images, and as late as the 1490s.¹³

Although this composition is not on the more restrictive list of prints possibly by Mantegna, David Landau has suggested that it was in fact Mantegna's earliest print, dating to circa 1465, during his early years in Mantua, and that the technical differences in comparison with the more famous horizontal *Entombment* mentioned above, the *Bacchanals*, or the *Battle of the Sea Gods*, is in fact evidence of the very beginnings of his experimentation with incising copper.¹⁴

It has also been suggested that the unfinished works—including the *Flagellation* and *Virgin in the Grotto* in this catalogue—were earliest precisely because they were unfinished, the assumption being that Mantegna gradually got his feet wet as he learned to engrave and abandoned these because he was dissatisfied.¹⁵ Perhaps more to the point, like many engravers in fifteenth-century Italy, Mantegna—or his engraver(s), to deal with the issue rather than the individual—habitually engraved on both sides of their plates, meaning that on the second side, it would no longer be possible to make corrections, since that would necessitate hammering the plate from the other, previously engraved side, thereby destroying the first composition.¹⁶



Cat. 44

The engraving of the *Virgin in the Grotto* has rarely been attributed to Mantegna. It precisely reproduces a fragment of the lower right-hand corner of the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* (see fig. 34) and, alone among the Mantegna prints, it is reproduced at the precise scale of the painting. It is thought to have been traced from the painting itself, and most curiously it very precisely reproduces all of the details, including some disembodied fragments of the original painting, such as the ox's ear and horn on the lower right edge (these are absent from the present impression, which has been trimmed) and the lower portion of a stroke of light, which in the painting emanates from the star of the Annunciation directly above the Virgin's head.¹⁷ The engraving thus does not so much repurpose the extracted scene, but presents a scale reproduction of that particular fragment.

The Uffizi painting, probably first made for the Gonzaga family in Mantua, but by 1587 owned by the Medici in Florence, and since 1827 combined with two unrelated paintings into a triptych, shows a lengthy retinue of magi descending a steep stony path to the cave where the Madonna and Child sit surrounded by a red aureole of angels. The Virgin is receiving the magi's offerings one by one, while Joseph stands to the right. With the scene extracted from the rest of the painting, the engraving subtly shifts the point of view so that although the Virgin is looking to her right, the grotto is aligned with the picture plane in

the engraving. By contrast, in the painting the grotto is positioned at a slight angle from the picture plane so that she is more clearly oriented toward the approaching magi.



Fig. 36. Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506; *Studies for Christ at the Column*, 1459; pen and ink on paper; 9 5/16 × 5 11/16 in. (23.7 × 14.5 cm); Count Antoine Seilern Bequest, Courtauld Institute of Art, London D.1978.PG.345 recto

The *Flagellation* (cat. 44) is among the four additional plates attributed to Mantegna by David Landau in 1992.¹⁸ Significantly, the subject appears among the plates that were listed in the 1510 estate inventory of Mantegna's son, Ludovico, which demonstrates its close connection to the artist up to the end of his life.¹⁹ Unlike the *Virgin in the Grotto* there is no surviving work that shows the full composition, although a double-sided sheet with drawings relating to the figure of Christ as he submits to his scourging has the character of preparatory studies that show Mantegna working out the position of Christ for such a composition (fig. 36).²⁰ In these quickly executed sketches the artist tried out different positions for the central figure of Christ, ranging from bent straight over at the waist to the solution leaning slightly forward that appears in the print.

Further evidence of process in the Mantegna prints occurs at the corners of some of the plates, including this one, although many of the impressions have been trimmed to mask all or most of those signs—as this one has. David Landau has posited that these irregular geometric marks (fig. 35b) were used as registration marks while transferring a completed drawing to the plate.²¹ This would suggest that there was an overall compositional drawing, which no longer survives.

Despite the presence of four unfinished prints in the present catalogue (cats. 43, 44, 60, and 61), this phenomenon is very rare for fifteenth-century prints: the *Virgin in the Grotto* has been cited as one of the earliest to exist.²² It should be noted, however, that neither it nor the *Flagellation* are what we would properly call a proof impression—one taken from the plate while it is in process as a means of giving the artist a sense of what the image will look like, since clearly relatively large numbers were produced and circulated. Proof impressions are rare by definition, and tend to be unique, or survive in very few numbers precisely because they were made strictly as part of the artist's working process (cat. 61, the portrait of Bandinelli, by contrast, is unique, and therefore is likely to have been a working proof). Rather, these prints (and cat. 60) were printed in large numbers, perhaps after the death of the artist, for reasons that we can only surmise today, but likely because they were considered valuable evidence of the artist's hand, and a sign of his invention, or thinking process. Yet they also presented another opportunity for disseminating an artist's work, and for financial gain to the owner of the plate. Their unfinished quality gives them the feeling of a drawing, an aesthetic that came to be valued as the sixteenth century progressed.

Even if he never engraved a copper plate himself, Mantegna's extraordinary impact on the history of art can be traced in part to his revolutionary involvement with printmaking. With the exception of his contemporary, Antonio Pollaiuolo, a painter and goldsmith who produced just one large, ambitious, and influential print (fig. 33), there were no other Italian painters in the last quarter of the fifteenth century who were doing anything comparable. When in the first half of the following century the print market developed at a fast pace and in multiple directions, Mantegna's model was there for artists ranging from Raphael, who worked almost exclusively with a single engraver, Marcantonio Raimondi, and oversaw the production of a body of engraved work representing his designs, to Parmigianino (1503–1540), who worked with multiple printmakers, but who also tried his own hand at etching, and transformed the field for yet another generation. By the time Vasari wrote that Mantegna was the first painter to make engravings, it was widely accepted that Mantegna had engraved his own plates, and the development of etching, which he did not live to exploit, had ensured that successive generations of painters could more easily disseminate their work widely through prints. EW



Nemesis, 1502

engraving, state ii/ii

platemark: 13 1/8 × 9 1/16 in. (33.3 × 23 cm)

sheet: 13 3/8 × 9 1/4 in. (34 × 23.5 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Dr. Edward Peart (1756 or 1758–1824), Butterwick and London; Pace Master Prints, New York

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meder 1932, no. 72; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 80–83, 85, 87, 95, 119, 136, 150, and 203; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 184; Panofsky 1962; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 72); Boston 1971, cat. 60; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 481; Washington 1971, cat. 25; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 77); Schoch 2001, no. 33; Vienna 2003, cat. 61; Vienna-Washington 2013, cat. 27

The subject of Dürer's *Nemesis* has been something of a nemesis to iconographers virtually since the time of its creation. The artist himself called it *Nemesis* yet even in his lifetime artists who borrowed the figure's pose and attributes transformed her into personifications of fortune.¹ Scholars have always recognized the importance of the print, Dürer's second largest, but the re-recognition of the figure's identity came only in the nineteenth century.² Nemesis, also known as *Rhamnusia* after an early Greek site important to her cult, is not an easy character to pin down, in part because beyond her specific, localized identity as a goddess, she has also been associated with personifications of various sister concepts, including fortune, justice, destiny, and victory.³

The few depictions of her that survive prior to Dürer are from antiquity, and the most significant statue persists only in a description.⁴ Dürer's primary textual source for the engraving, a fifteenth-century Latin poem by Tuscan scholar and poet Angelo Poliziano, was identified in 1902.⁵ The poem elucidates many puzzling aspects of the engraving, including the bridle and goblet held by the goddess, which appear together in no other sources, along with a reference to her celestial home, "walk[ing] aloft, floating in empty air."⁶

The engraving is remarkable not just for being the first modern depiction of Nemesis, but also for the attention the artist paid to the proportions of the female nude on the



Fig. 37. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *Study for the Winged Figure of Fortune and Study of a Wing*, 1500; pen and brown and black ink, incised with stylus; 10 1/8 × 8 1/8 in. (25.7 × 20.6 cm); British Museum, London SL,5218.114



Cat. 45 detail

one hand, and the naturalistic detail in the landscape on the other. A working drawing for the print (fig. 37) sums up those contrasting attributes succinctly. The roughly sketched contours of Nemesis's figure are drawn using incised grid lines in the paper, which set the proportions Dürer chose.⁷ This is the earliest instance where it is clear he was modeling the human form based at least partially on the Vitruvian canon.⁸ To the left is an attentive sketch for her feathery wings, signaling another attribute of his art—an obsessive interest in the tiniest details of nature. The landscape, which Erwin Panofsky called “a superb piece of cartography,” is a topographically correct rendering of the town of Klausen in South Tyrol, an example par excellence of Dürer's interest in naturalistic detail.⁹ He professed to learning about the study of human proportion from Jacopo de' Barbari and would also seem to have emulated Barbari's monumental woodcut bird's-eye view of Venice of 1500, a precisely constructed topographic record of that city. This duality infuses every aspect of the engraving, from the goddess's chastising bridle and laudatory goblet, to the contrast between her divine realm, delineated by a rolling cloud bank and a pristinely white atmosphere, and the densely depicted alpine view, a landscape we know the artist traversed on his trip from Nuremberg to Venice around 1495 (see detail above).¹⁰

Dürer is credited as the first European artist to focus on the female nude, both by drawing from live female models, and by creating a proportional system specific to the female body, in which he went beyond his Italian models, whereas from antiquity to the Italian Renaissance the theoretical focus had been on the male body.¹¹ *Nemesis*, which came just a few years after his unprecedented illustrated book, the *Apocalypse*, and of which he was still very proud twenty years later when he gave it to friends and dignitaries on his trip to the Netherlands, was yet another step toward staking his claim as an ambitious innovator in the art world. EW

Adam and Eve, 1504

engraving, state ii/iii

image: 9 3/4 × 7 9/16 in. (24.8 × 19.2 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 9 13/16 × 7 5/8 in. (25 × 19.3 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Christie's London, July 1, 1993, Lot 68; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 2000

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Panofsky 1920, 359–77; Meder 1932, no. 1; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 68, 84–92, 119f. and 150; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 108; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 1); Boston 1971, cats. 84 and 85; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 484; Washington 1971, cat. 30; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 1); Schoch 2001, no. 39; Vienna 2003, cat. 65; Rome 2007, cat. II.19; Vienna-Washington 2003, cat. 31

Mars and Venus, c. 1509–10

engraving, only state

sheet: 11 1/2 × 7 1/8 in. (29.2 × 18.1 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Probably Edmund Prideaux, Prideaux Place, Padstow, Cornwall; Col. Prideaux-Brune, Padstow (by descent); Colnaghi, London, 1960, Lot 4; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1998

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Galichon 1861, no. 13; Kristeller 1896, no. 12; Brauer 1931, 130; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, 153, no. 13; Levenson 1978, 86–87, no. 36; TIB, vol. 13 (Master of the Caduceus [Jacopo de' Barbari], no. 20); Coburg 1994, cat. 35; Paris 2003, cat. 17; Ferrari 2006, cat. 26; Metze et al. 2013, cat. 173

By 1510, Albrecht Dürer and Jacopo de' Barbari had each produced a body of engraved work attesting to their interest in the human form. The two artists had met a decade earlier, at which time—at least according to Dürer—Barbari shared proportional studies of figures he had made, but refused to explain how he had constructed them. Dürer, impressed by Barbari's early engravings, had hoped to learn more from him concerning human proportion. In the end, he claimed, Barbari's reticence only further whetted his ambitions to discover the mathematical principles he then believed could be used to construct the perfect form.¹

Dürer's studies of proportion culminated in *Adam and Eve*, a visual manifesto in which he at last declared his command of the ideal human figure. The biblical first couple stands in stark relief against the sylvan gloom of the forest, where animals dwell among the trees. Hanging between them from a branch of the Tree of Knowledge is the serpent, who passes the forbidden fruit to Eve. Adam looks cautiously on, his left arm extended toward her, and his hand open in a gesture often described as one of protest. The flora and fauna that lend the engraving its dense allegorical quality have been carefully chosen by Dürer as if to demonstrate both his biblical and scientific erudition: Adam, for instance, clutches a branch of mountain ash, a tree once identified with the Tree of Life and thought to ward off snakes.² The four medieval humors (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile), held to be in perfect



Cat. 46





Fig. 38. Jacopo de' Barbari, Italian, 1440–1515; *Apollo and Diana*, 1503–5; engraving; plate: 6 1/4 x 3 7/8 in. (15.9 x 9.9 cm); Rogers Fund, 1920, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 20.92.2



Fig. 39. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *Adam*, 1504; pen and ink; Albertina, Vienna Inv. 3080

equilibrium until the Fall, are represented here in a state of prelapsarian balance embodied by their animal proxies—rabbit, ox, cat, and elk.³ There is even a goat perched atop a distant precipice, who mirrors Adam's precarious standing on the brink of decision.

The critical emphasis of the engraving nonetheless remains the luminous figures of Adam and Eve, whose forms were modeled on renowned ancient statues, the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Medici Venus*, and engraved using the measurements prescribed in the Vitruvian canon. Dürer's knowledge of these prototypes was derived from exposure to the work of Italian artists including Barbari, who had already imported the *Apollo Belvedere's* elegant *contrapposto* into his early engraving *Apollo and Diana* (fig. 38)—a posture subsequently echoed in Adam.⁴ Preparations for *Adam and Eve* lasted at least two years, during which time Dürer settled on the models for his figures, probed subtle modifications of pose and gesture, and perfected his construction of rigorous proportional drawings such as the one of Adam, now in the Albertina, in which he visibly gauged bodily measurements using line and compass (fig. 39).⁵ Once Dürer began to engrave, he worked from dark to light to carefully engineer modulations of tone, a process observable in the two proof states he printed from the unfinished plate.

Adam and Eve was an unqualified success for the artist—a triumph over the classical figure, as well as the burin. Indeed, Dürer's use of fine lines and short flicks was subtler than it had ever been, resulting in a composition rich in painterly effects, as in the silvery play of shadow over Adam's legs and chest, and the elucidation of surface textures, which can almost be felt as the eye passes over them. For all its achievements, *Adam and Eve* has on occasion been characterized as a coldly classicizing portrait inured to the pathos of the Fall—an impression likely stirred by Dürer's emphasis on the first couple's nude bodies as objects of aesthetic and intellectual rather than sensual investigation.⁶ Yet it is this very same quality that so effectively dramatizes his vision of prelapsarian bodies still in a state of grace, still blissfully unaware of themselves as objects of sensual contemplation—if not for long

In Barbari's engraving *Mars and Venus*, by contrast, the emphasis is on a mythological couple already very much fallen. Unhappy in her marriage, the Roman goddess of love Venus embarked on an adulterous affair with Mars, the god of war. Their liaison was exposed when her husband Vulcan forged a magical net, catching the besotted couple in flagrante delicto.⁷ Engraved around five years after Dürer's *Adam and Eve*, *Mars and Venus* is an intimate, even familial portrait that downplays the adulterous and more explicitly carnal elements of the couple's union; at the same time, however, Barbari revels in an understated eroticism that exudes unmistakable warmth.

Mars, fully attired in the uniform of a Roman gladiator, wears a cuirass and *pteruges*, a war-skirt fashioned from leather strips. Barbari has paid lavish attention to the details of this uniform, which closely resembles that of the gladiator in the right foreground of Mantegna's *Flagellation* (cat. 44), down to an almost identical pair of lion-faced boots.⁸ With his staff nestled against his hip, Barbari's Mars extends his left arm around the nude Venus, drawing her and the infant Cupid cradled on her arm into the security of his cloak. Leaning in toward each other, the couple exchanges gazes of undisguised affection, oblivious to spectators. The figures are grounded against a minimal background of diagonally hatched lines, again recalling Mantegna, which fosters a secluded ambience, cocooning the couple and holding intrusions at bay.

As Dürer had done in *Adam and Eve*, Barbari also selected the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Medici Venus* as his figural prototypes for *Mars and Venus*. Whether and to what extent this choice was inspired by his reception of Dürer's engraving, or possibly by the latter's more recent pair of panel paintings of Adam and Eve completed in 1507, remains debatable.⁹ Barbari had, of course, looked before to the *Apollo Belvedere* in his earlier engraving of *Apollo and Diana*, and it is certainly not surprising that Venus is modeled on such a pertinent and well-known statue. Indisputable is the fact that Barbari, in this late stage of his highly itinerant career, now harnessed a much broader arsenal of engraving techniques, demonstrated by his extraordinary assimilation of Italian and northern printmakers alike, including Dürer. *Mars and Venus* belongs to this slim but sophisticated body of later work evincing Barbari's assimilative talents.

One of the engraving's most striking elements is the nuanced tactility that characterizes the figures of both Mars and Venus. Emphasizing Venus's stature as a paragon of soft femininity is Barbari's use of a sensuous, pointillistic stippling technique that brings to mind Giulio Campagnola, among others (compare cats. 2, 32, and 33). Barbari's flicks of the burin dissolve into shadows where he seems to have tarried over her body, along the underside of her breast, for example, and up her inner thigh; this sublimated eroticism is further channeled into Barbari's delicate but expressive delineation of her sex. The figure of Mars also exhibits use of this stippling technique, but here it is the rhythmic, punctuated contrasts of light and shade ornamenting select parts of his costume that deserve mention, in particular the studded leather strips of the *pteruges* around his waist, which clearly play on both bellicose and virile associations with masculinity. LMC

48

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528

Knight, Death, and the Devil, 1513

engraving, only state

image: 9 5/8 × 7 7/16 in. (24.4 × 18.9 cm)

sheet, trimmed, pasted to a larger mount: 9 11/16 × 7 1/2 in. (24.6 × 19.1 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire; Christie's London, December 5, 1985, Lot 19; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 2000

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meder 1932, no. 74; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 152–54, 156f., 190, 198, 231, and 272; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 205; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 74); Boston 1971, cats. 179, 180, and 181; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 503; Washington 1971, cat. 58; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 98); Schoch 2001, no. 69; Vienna 2003, cat. 139; Rome 2007, cat. II.32; Vienna-Washington 2013, cat. 78

49

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528

Saint Jerome in His Study, 1514

engraving, only state

image: 9 5/8 × 7 3/8 in. (24.7 × 18.7 cm)

platemark: 9 3/4 × 7 7/16 in. (24.7 × 18.9 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 9 13/16 × 7 1/2 in. (24.9 × 19.1 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1995

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meder 1932, no. 59; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 154–56, 212; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 167; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 59); Boston 1971, cats. 186 and 187; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 273; Washington 1971, cat. 60; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 60); Schoch 2001, no. 70; Vienna 2003, cat. 140; Vienna-Washington 2013, cat. 79

50

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528

Melencolia I, 1514

engraving, state ii/ii

image: 9 3/8 × 7 5/16 in. (23.8 × 18.6 cm)

platemark: 9 7/16 × 7 7/16 in. (23.9 × 18.9 cm)

sheet: 9 9/16 × 7 1/2 in. (24.3 × 19.1 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, E. Zimmermann stamped in black ink [with axe; circled] (Lugt 2677); stamped in black ink: [spread-winged eagle; circled] (Lugt 2809); written in faint crayon: A. Franck (Lugt 947)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Ernst Zimmermann (second half 19th century); A. Ritter von Franck (1808–1884), Vienna and Graz; Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 1920 (auction 131, Lot 176); M. Guiot von Otto Weigmann; Pace Master Prints, New York, until 1993

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Panofsky and Saxl 1923; Meder 1932, no. 75; Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, 93, 235, 245, 252, and 282; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2, no. 181; Hollstein (Dürer, no. 75); Boston 1971, cats. 188, 189; Nuremberg 1971, cat. 270; Washington 1971, cat. 59; TIB, vol. 10 (Dürer, no. 74); Schoch 2001, no. 71; Vienna 2003, cat. 142; Rome 2007, cat. VII.31; Vienna-Washington 2013, cat. 80

In 1513 and 1514, Albrecht Dürer produced three extraordinary works, which have become known as his *Meisterstiche*, his master engravings. In 1513, he made *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, followed by *Saint Jerome in His Study* and *Melencolia I* the following year. The Weil collection includes all three. The *Meisterstiche* are dense, complex, upright compositions, close in scale, and printed with the utmost care. They were arresting to contemporary viewers, and for many they remain unsurpassed to this day. Yet, compelling as they are, their meaning remains elusive.¹

Knight, Death, and the Devil features a confident knight riding a horse through forbidding terrain occupied by monsters. Upright in the saddle, he wears a gleaming suit of armor and is armed with a longsword and lance. His horse is a fine specimen, powerful, well proportioned, carefully groomed, and disciplined. A spaniel bounds alongside.

Horse, rider, and dog seem unfazed by their surroundings. Dark outcroppings studded with broken trees and thorny bushes bear witness to the hardships of life. Death, dressed in a white habit, rides a broken-down ass. Serpents twine about his head and crown as he raises an hourglass to assert his power. The pig-snouted devil, with curling and spiky horns, goggle eyes, dewlap, furry body, dragon wings, and cloven hooves, carries a pike in its left hand and reaches toward the knight with its right.

Dürer placed a skull next to the plaque bearing his monogram and the date. Though death looms near, he indicates his hopes for the afterlife by prefacing the date with an S, for *salus*, as in *anno Salutis* (“the year of grace”).² His own initials accompanying the date could also be read as *anno domini* (“in the year of the Lord”).

Dürer himself referred to the engraving simply as “Der Reiter,” the horseman, but he grounded the image in erudite literary and artistic antecedents. The threatening scene brings to mind Psalm 23, “Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil. . . .” It also relates to contemporary literature, specifically Erasmus’s *Enchiridion*, of 1501. The book exhorted the reader to live as a disciplined soldier of God:

In order that you may not be deterred from the path of virtue because it seems rough and dreary, because you may have to renounce the comforts of the world, and because you might constantly fight three unfair enemies, the flesh, the devil, and the world, this third rule shall be proposed to you: All those spooks and phantoms which come upon you as in the very gorges of Hades must be deemed for naught after the example of Virgil’s Aeneas.³



Fig. 40. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *The Knight*, 1498; pen and brown ink with watercolor; Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 3067



Fig. 41. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *The Knight*, 1513; pen and brown ink over traces of silverpoint, squared and partly incised; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan Cod. F. 264 inf. 25 recto



Fig. 42. Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528; *The Knight*, 1513; pen and brown ink over traces of silverpoint, squared and partly incised; Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan Cod. F. 264 inf. 25 verso

In 1498, Dürer produced a watercolor study of a knight on horseback (fig. 40).⁴ He returned to this study, updating his ideas for *Knight, Death, and the Devil*. The pose and most features of the knight's armor, weapons, and tack are already present. What changes most is the horse. Instead of the slightly awkward perspective, intended to push the hindquarters away from the viewer, the engraving places the animal in profile in the foreground.

The seed of Dürer's desire to produce a more imposing image of a knight on horseback was probably planted during his trips to Venice in 1494–95 and 1506–7. There he saw the four bronze horses on the facade of Saint Mark's Basilica. The majestic sculptures were made in the second or third century CE and transported from Constantinople to Venice in the thirteenth century. The ancient horses inspired prominent equestrian sculptures during the Renaissance, including Andrea del Verrocchio's *Bartolomeo Colleoni*, completed by Alessandro Leopardi in 1490.⁵ The sculpture, which features an armored warrior astride a walking horse, was readily available for Dürer's study during both of his trips to Venice.

In 1513, Dürer redrew his knight, now with the horse in profile and striding (fig. 41),⁶ with the rear legs nearly straight, as they are in the *Colleoni* sculpture. The drawing allows us to see Dürer developing his design. He first drew the horse and rider going leftward, then traced his drawing onto the back of the paper (fig. 42). He subsequently grew dissatisfied with the position of the horse's hind legs. Returning to the front of the sheet, he repositioned the rear leg on the far side of the horse, bending it to raise the hoof from the ground. He then



Cat. 48

traced the new position to the back side. Using both sides of the paper allowed Dürer to account for the reversal of the image during the printing process. The finished print would end up in the direction of the drawing that he made on the front of the sheet, but he had to engrave it in the direction of the image on the back. On the back, Dürer added a bounding short-haired dog. The drawing includes neither the landscape nor the monsters, and the background on the back has been darkened.

Despite his elaborate preparation and the difficulty of revising lines engraved in copper, Dürer made changes as he worked on the plate. He decided to make the dog hairier; perhaps the fur offered opportunities for engraved flourishes. The changes to the leg position in the drawing occurred after Dürer had engraved at least an outline into the copper. He attempted to hide his discarded thoughts by disguising the contours of the horseshoe, hoof, and leg as leaves of grass now visible in the engraving directly below the hoof and between the leg and the dog. Hence, he worked on the drawing both before and during the engraving process.

After completing the *Knight*, Dürer decided to maintain the discipline of engraving at the highest level, producing the other masterpieces the following year. We do not know the order in which the next two came. *Saint Jerome in His Study* (cat. 49) presents the old scholar hard at work at his writing table, presumably engaged in his translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin, the common language of his era, the fourth and fifth centuries. A halo encircles his head and is echoed by the round cardinal's hat hanging behind him on the wall. Next to the hat is an hourglass, reminding us of death's certain arrival and again reinforced by the presence of a skull. The paraphernalia of the religious scholar—books, letters, scissors, rosary, whisk, candlestick, and so forth—line the room. A tiny crucifix stands as a reminder of the object of the saint's labors.

Jerome's is a comfortable room. Light filters in through the bull's-eye glass windows. The chair and benches are padded with ample pillows—Dürer loved to draw pillows, apparently relishing the ever-changing abstract forms produced by fluffing or chopping them.⁷ In the foreground of this calm scene, at the top of the step, lies a lion. According to legend, Jerome extracted a thorn from a lion's paw, and the animal became his companion and protector. The lion is awake, fulfilling his mission of keeping us out, while a sturdy little watchdog sleeps nearby. A large gourd hangs from the beam, alluding to a debate over the translation of the word *kikayon* in the book of Jonah. Jerome said ivy, while Saint Augustine thought it was gourd vine. The argument plagued Jerome for a decade, and he ultimately lost.⁸ Perhaps Dürer intended the gourd as a reminder that, despite our best efforts, we all have our failings.

The room itself is a perspectival construction of ruled lines: they converge so rapidly that the room seems to shrink toward the rear, resulting in a sensation of remarkable intimacy. Dürer gave texture to some surfaces, especially the ceiling. Yet the greatest sensation is of empty space, the effect heightened by the light entering through the windows, which casts patterns that seem to dissolve the plaster walls. The contents of the room are pushed to the walls, edges, and corners. As the light with its many sources crisscrosses the room, it grows



Cat. 49

more diffuse. Its abstract qualities become even more interesting than all the details of the room's contents. The emphatic architectural framing of the image on three sides, coupled with the cropping to the right, implies the presence of further space just out of view.

Jerome was one of Dürer's favorite subjects. He depicted the saint in several prints, plus drawings and paintings. His Jeromes are sometimes penitent (cat. 36), sometimes melancholy, and sometimes, as here, industrious.

Melencolia I (cat. 50) ranks among the most intriguing works of art ever made, a complex hieroglyph for which there is no Rosetta stone. A magnificent, laurel-crowned angel sits brooding in the foreground. In its hand and strewn about are the tools and materials of physical creation—from hammer and nails to an alchemical crucible. Sitting on a millstone is a putto, scribbling away on a tablet. Models of ideal geometric forms such as a sphere and a polyhedron occupy the left side of the image, along with a sleeping dog. To the right we face the base of a windowless building, perhaps a tower. A ladder leans against it, and from its walls hang a scale, an hourglass, and a bell. A grid of numbers is carved into the wall. In the background we see a distant horizon. In the sky are a rainbow and a comet and a batlike creature holding a banner reading “MELENCOLIA I.”

Puzzling, to say the least. But there are clues to deciphering the work, such as the banner. Dürer drew his understanding of melancholy from the philosophical writings of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). A melancholic himself, Ficino saw both pluses and minuses to the condition's stimulation of thought and emotion. It could drive one mad, yet it also produced the sensitivity required for creativity. “All truly outstanding men,” Ficino wrote, “whether distinguished in philosophy, in statecraft, in poetry, or in the arts, are melancholics.”⁹

Because the banner specifies “Melencolia I,” or the first form of melancholy, it would appear that Dürer had access to manuscript copies of treatises by Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535). Agrippa explored esoteric knowledge, including astrology, the occult, and magic. He divided melancholy into three levels. Level one, the lowest, governed the imagination and pertained to artists—of no small interest to the melancholic Dürer. Level two controlled scientists and physicians, and level three ruled theologians—and certainly Agrippa himself.

The angel sits idle, but its eyes are wide open. By contrast, the putto has its eyes shut and scribbles away. It lacks ambition and imagination, so it has no problem producing drivel. The angel, however, sees the miraculous, the unseen, perhaps a comet—or maybe it is a meteor. Unusual celestial events held ominous meaning in Dürer's time. He may have witnessed, on November 7, 1492, the atmospheric entry of a 250-pound meteorite that crashed to earth about thirty miles from Basel, where he was at the time. Does the angel also see a rainbow in the night sky? No one has seen such a thing, but one can imagine it.



Cat. 50

Dürer presents extraordinary novelties. *Melencolia I* marks the first appearance of a magic square in European art—a grid of numbers in which each row and each column adds up to a constant sum. Dürer used the numbers one to sixteen and the sum thirty-four. In his arrangement, along with the rows and columns, there are many other patterns of four that also total thirty-four: the diagonals, quadrants, corners, and more elaborate configurations. There are at least thirty-four patterns of thirty-four and probably not more.¹⁰ Dürer embedded further information in the arrangement. The date of the engraving, 1514, is in the bottom row, and the numbers flanking the date correspond to the alphabetic position of Dürer's initials.

The presence of the square is not trivial. Ficino related melancholy to Saturn, both the planet and the god. Even today, we might call a gloomy person saturnine. Saturn, too, carries positive and negative connotations. Saturn could bestow wealth and power, but he could also bring misery. Ficino suggested that Saturn's power could be overcome by invoking Jupiter. In 1510, Agrippa had linked magic squares of various sizes to the heavenly bodies of the night: 3×3 squares belonged to Saturn, the melancholy planet, while 4×4 squares belonged to Jupiter. Dürer's square is an antidote to melancholy.

Dürer stepped beyond numerology and made a real contribution to mathematics. The polyhedron is known as "Dürer's solid," for—apart from the artist's own notebooks—it makes its first appearance anywhere in *Melencolia I*. The surface of the solid consists of six symmetrical pentagons and two equilateral triangles. Amazingly, the polyhedron can be constructed by drawing diagonal lines from intersections within the magic square grid. Such grids were fundamental to Dürer's method of drawing in perspective, as seen in illustrations to his treatises. By rotating and inclining his solid, Dürer reoriented it to the position seen in *Melencolia I*.¹¹

Dürer uses his imagination and intellect to see the unseen, to become an extension of God's creative hand. Yet, in his own eyes, his realization of this ambition is incomplete. The polyhedron is merely an earthly representation of an ideal form. Its edges are nicked and its faces weathered. One can find the ghostly likeness of a skull on the side of the solid. Dürer includes further symbols of mortality: the scale that weighs souls, the hourglass that measures lives, and the bell that will toll the end—all looming directly above the angel's head. He does not control his fate, for the bell cord trails out of view.

The tip of a clyster pokes out from beneath the angel's robe. Perhaps it will flush away the black bile that causes his creative block. Perhaps Dürer will scale the ladder to the heights of the unseen tower. Perhaps he will use the crucible to unlock the secrets of alchemy, to transform that which is base into something more perfect. Will his melancholy serve him or defeat him?

The irony, of course, is that in treating the subject of melancholy and the inability to create, Dürer presented to the world an entirely novel and unrivaled image. It looks unlike anything that came before it. It pushes at the frontiers of mathematics. It delves deep into the psyche. It embodies a mastery of the engraver's tool that surpasses the work of all earlier artists—and remains unmatched in the subsequent five hundred years.

The identification of *Knight, Death, and the Devil*; *Saint Jerome in His Study*; and *Melencolia I* as the master engravings is a modern construction. We do not know if Dürer ever regarded them as a distinct group, and what we can learn from the notes he made during a trip to the Netherlands suggests that he did not. Watermark evidence tells us that he reprinted the plates in 1520 to take impressions along on his trip. He sold them or offered them as gifts. When he noted such actions, the prints were disseminated individually or in pairs—never all three at the same time. Other references to earlier transactions confirm this pattern.¹² Nevertheless, it is very tempting to find connections between them. They share scale, skill, and iconography (the dogs, hourglasses, and skulls). They could be seen as representative of three classes of scholastic virtues: moral (knight), theological (Jerome), and intellectual (secular genius).¹³ With *Adam and Eve* (cat. 46) added in, they have been seen as the Temperaments: choleric knight, phlegmatic scholar, melancholic angel, and sanguine couple.

If one were to succumb to the devilish temptation of finding unifying meaning among the prints, one might note that Dürer devoted his life to the sense of sight. In these prints, he offers us three types of vision: material vision in the many textures—gleaming armor, glistening horsehair, fluffy dog fur, and stony landscape—of *Knight, Death, and the Devil*; spiritual vision in the luminous space of Jerome's study; and imaginative vision of the unseen or never before seen in *Melencolia I*. This is not a key to these incomparable engravings, but simply another bit of meaning to be found in their inexhaustible visual and intellectual fascination. TR



51

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

Abraham's Sacrifice, 1655

etching and drypoint on vellum, only state

platemark: 5 7/8 × 4 15/16 in. (14.9 × 12.5 cm)

sheet: 5 15/16 × 5 in. (15.1 × 12.7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: probably Heneage Finch, 5th Earl of Aylesford (1786–1859), London and Warwickshire; possibly sold through Samuel Woodburn (1786–1853), London; John Heywood Hawkins (c. 1800–between 1870 and 1880), London and Bignor Park; Colnaghi, London; Walter Francis (1806–1884), Fifth Duke of Buccleuch, London; his sale, Christie's London, April 19, 1887, Lot 1767; Hulton; Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Mannheim; Joseph R. Ritman (b. 1941), Amsterdam; his sale, Sotheby's and Artemis Fine Arts, New York and London, 1995, cat. 51, until 1997

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 33; Rosenberg 1968, 176; Boston-New York 1969, cat. 20; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 35); Munich 1982, cat. 61; Hamburg 1983–84, 192; Paris 1986, 126; Amsterdam-Jerusalem 1991, 158–59; Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92, 278–80, cat. 39; Amsterdam 1996–97, 12; White 1969, 104–5; Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, cat. 77; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 35 (this impression); Hinterding 2008, no. 23; Perlove and Silver 2009, 90–92; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 287)

Rembrandt's reputation as a master storyteller was built through his repeated portrayals of a given biblical narrative, in which he applied knowledge gained from multiple sources and focused on varied moments of the narrative across several decades of his career. Perhaps most strikingly, his own approach to the characters and the story changed over time, and often radically. This applies to his representations of the life of Abraham, the Hebrew patriarch who is introduced in Genesis (11–25), and for which paintings and prints survive from the 1630s to the 1650s, this compact and forceful etching showing *Abraham's Sacrifice* among them.

Abraham and his wife, Sarah, at the advanced ages of one hundred and ninety, respectively, had failed to produce offspring despite God's covenant that Abraham would be "the father of a multitude of nations" whose "seed" would possess the land of Canaan (Genesis 17:4–8).¹ They eventually had a son, whom they named Isaac, but God called upon Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, and directed them to travel for three days to reach the altar on the summit of Mount Moriah. As noted by the Protestant reformer John Calvin, those three days of close proximity were part of the trial.² In a large painting of 1635 now in the Hermitage, Rembrandt depicted the sacrifice with violence and chaos: Isaac's hands are tied behind his back and Abraham grips his face with a massive hand, leaving only Isaac's bare white torso exposed and still vulnerable in the instant the angel arrives. By contrast, in the 1655 print Isaac calmly submits to the sacrifice. Abraham covers his eyes, but rather than splaying Isaac out on the pyre for slaughter, Abraham has him kneel and holds him close, and Isaac's hands rest in anticipation at his side.

The print captures an almost overwhelmingly intimate moment within a severely confined space. The three figures are fused together in the instant, Abraham holding Isaac close, while the angel, his wings steadying him, embraces Abraham. Two parallel diagonal lines pierce the atmosphere from the cloud to Abraham's left hand still holding the knife, a graphic sign that God was only testing him and did not intend for Isaac to die. This raises the question of whether Rembrandt meant for Abraham to use his left hand, or whether he simply did not bother to reverse the composition.³

One of the most distinctive aspects of the Weil Rembrandt prints is the collectors' deliberate focus on the varied types of supports he printed on. From as early as the 1640s Rembrandt increasingly printed on a variety of papers, including Japanese paper, newly imported to Amsterdam, as well as vellum, or animal skin, which this impression is printed on. Four impressions of this print are recorded on Japanese paper, but the Weil version is the only one known to us printed on vellum.⁴ One of the main characteristics of the different supports was their ability to absorb printer's ink, and since vellum is relatively stiff and nonabsorbent, the ink remains on the surface, allowing for rich, darkly inked passages. It also facilitated some slippage of the plate, including here, where the angel's swift approach is captured, albeit accidentally, in a literal state of movement. EW



52

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

The Flight into Egypt (a night piece), 1651

etching, engraving, and drypoint, state v/vi

sheet, trimmed: 5 × 4 5/16 in. (12.7 × 11 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, stamped in black ink: [tower] (not in Lugt); stamped in black ink: [oval shield, quartered and crowned] (Lugt 271 5a)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Fürst zu Öttingen-Wallerstein, Maihingen, Bavaria; his sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, May 28, 1935, Lot 233; Richard H. Zinser (1884–1984), Forest Hills, NY; Helmut H. Rumbler, Frankfurt, until 2006

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 57; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 57); White 1969, 49–50; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cat. 110; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 53 (this impression); Rotterdam 2006–7, 80–83; Hinterding 2008, no. 44; Perlove and Silver 2009, 170; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 216)



53
Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

The Rest on the Flight (lightly etched), 1645

etching and drypoint, only state

platemark: 5 3/16 × 4 9/16 in. (13.2 × 11.6 cm)

sheet: 5 11/16 × 5 1/16 in. (14.4 × 12.8 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in graphite: ⁵⁰ Gers^t. N^o 58 / Le p^r morceaux; written in graphite: Rudolf [P]ilz / Thalheim / Erzgebirge [?] (not in Lugt); stamped in brown ink: * B * / Veraussert / K.K. [circled twice] (Lugt 2482); stamped in black ink: TH [circled] (Lugt 2434); stamped in black ink: K.K.C. / [spread eagle] [circled] (Lugt 1633)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Adam Gottlieb Thiermann (d. 1860 or 1861), Berlin; Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (duplicate); Helmut H. Rumbler, Frankfurt, until 2005

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 58; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 58); White 1969, 11, 50–51 and 59; Berlin 1970, cat. 59; Artemis 1993, cat. 5; Machida-Chiba 1993, 184; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cat. 111; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 58 (this impression); Rotterdam 2006–7, 80–83; Hinterding 2008, no. 45; Perlove and Silver 2009, 173–74; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 227)

Five prints by Rembrandt, from one of his very earliest prints from 1629 through 1654, share the theme of the holy family's flight into Egypt from Bethlehem, where King Herod sought to murder the infant Christ (see cat. 60).¹ *The Flight into Egypt (a night piece)* of 1651 depicts the family making their way through the thick black night into Egypt after Joseph woke from a dream, which foretold of Herod's intentions.

Taking his cue from a jewel-like night painting by Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), known to Rembrandt through a 1613 engraving, he progressively darkened this composition through six states. This was the first time he made such extensive changes to a plate, printing multiple impressions of each state, a practice he often repeated.² He also left a film of ink on the plate's surface, which he wiped selectively to create distinctive highlights in individual impressions. In this fifth state impression from the Weil collection, Joseph's hands and face are lit by the bright lantern, as is Mary's stony countenance as she faces directly out at the viewer in counterpoint to Joseph's profile.

The sight of the young family in the pitch-black landscape creates an ominous note that stresses the dangers inherent in this midnight trip.³ The subject of *Rest on the Flight (lightly etched)*, by contrast, allowed for affectionate family scenes, another genre at which Rembrandt excelled.⁴ Here a barefoot Mary reveals the soundly sleeping baby Jesus to Joseph who interrupts his snack to lean in eagerly for a glimpse. The barren tree trunk with a young sprouting branch on the right evokes the passage from Isaiah 11:1 that foretells Christ's birth: "And there shall come forth a small branch out of the stem of Isai (Jesse) that is hewn down and a shoot out of his roots shall bring forth fruit."

The technique displayed here is the antithesis of the "night piece." The presence of "finish" or the lack of it are characteristic of Rembrandt's work, sometimes coexisting in a single print, as in *The Hundred Guilder Print* (cat. 54). *Rest on the Flight* has an ivory tonality, remarkably constant among surviving impressions, that suggests specially chosen paper as well as deliberately light ink.⁵ An untrained eye might see a weak impression, but the result approximates the delicacy of a drypoint or even a silverpoint drawing, calling to mind Rembrandt's 1633 drawing, *Saskia in a Straw Hat*, a portrait of his twenty-one-year-old bride.⁶ That drawing on prepared parchment has a special delicacy that he may well have been thinking of when he etched this loving portrait of the holy family. EW

Christ Preaching (The Hundred Guilder Print), 1648

etching, drypoint, and engraving on Japanese paper, state ii/ii

platemark: 11 1/16 × 15 7/16 in. (28.1 × 39.2 cm)

sheet: 12 3/8 × 16 7/8 in. (31.5 × 42.8 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in graphite: Fontaine [underlined twice with curving strokes] (Lugt 936b); written in graphite: "Deze prent met de eigen hand is Geretoucheerd Rembrandt / berustende geweest in de kunst versameling / van de heer Burghemeester Six"; written in brown ink: Epreuve donnée par Rembrandt / au bourgeois Six, du cabinet / du quel elle faisait partie, ainsi / que l'Indique l'orthographe / hollandais ci contre. / F.D. 1836 [Lugt 985]; written in graphite: Leyd [remainder illegible] (see Lugt 12); stamped in purple ink: W.L. [in oval] (not in Lugt); stamped in black ink: AM [interlaced; in circle] (Lugt 151)
Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: probably Jan Six (1618–1700), Amsterdam; possibly Willem Six (by inheritance or descent from his uncle Jan Six); Fontaine (possibly 18th century; possibly Pieter Cornelis Baron van Leyden (1717–1788), Leiden; François Debois (d. 1845, Paris); his sale, Defer, Paris, April 21 and successive days 1845, Paris, Lot 948; Dr. Wolfgang Lippisch (d. 1980), Munich; Alfred Morrison (1821–1897), London and Fonthill; Frederik Muller and Company, Amsterdam; Dr. Joseph Winter, Vienna; by inheritance to his stepson, Dr. Walter von Feldan, New York; Kleeman Galleries, New York; Captain Gordon Wright Nowell-Usticke, New York and Christiansted, St. Croix; his sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, April 30–May 1, 1968, Lot 299; C. G. Boerner, New York; Sotheby's London, June 28, 1994, Lot 144

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 75; Boon 1964, 85–90; Boston-New York 1969, cat. 4; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 74); White 1969, 54–69; Berlin 1970, cat. 86; Held 1980; Boston-St. Louis 1980–81, cat. 98; Wheelock 1983; Tümpel 1986, 255–61; Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92, 27; Royalton-Kisch 1993, 180–81; Raupp 1994, 413–20; Stogdon 1996; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cat. 135; Hinterding 2006, vol. 1, 114–18; Rotterdam 2006–7, 96–99; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 74 (this impression); Hinterding 2008, no. 60; Perlove and Silver 2009, 269–74; Schatborn 2011, 314–15; Paris-Philadelphia-Detroit 2011–12, 3 and 8; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 239)

Christ Preaching (La Petite Tombe), c. 1652

etching and drypoint, state i/ii

platemark: 6 1/16 × 8 1/8 in. (15.4 × 20.6 cm)

sheet: 6 3/16 × 8 3/4 in. (15.7 × 22.2 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in black ink: Joseph Camesina / Pomal 1812 (Lugt 429); stamped in blue ink: HLS [interlaced] (Lugt 1336)

Collection of Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Joseph Camesina de Pomal (1765–1827), Vienna; Jean-Louis-Henri Le Secq (1818–1882), Paris; Loys Delteil, April 17–18, 1905, Lot 39; C. G. Boerner, New York

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 66; Boon 1964, 85–90; Boston-New York 1969, cat. 4; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 67); Boston-St. Louis 1980–81, cat. 98; Tümpel 1986, 255–61; Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92, 27; Royalton-Kisch 1993, 180–81; Raupp 1994, 413–20; White 1969, 66–69, 74, and 262n; Hinterding 2006, vol. 1, 140–41; Rotterdam 2006–7, 96–99; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 67; Hinterding 2008, no. 53; Perlove and Silver 2009, 269–75; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 298)

These two prints, which depict aspects of the ministry of Christ, frame the transition between Rembrandt's early career, culminating in the 1640s with *The Nightwatch* and *The Hundred Guilder Print*, and the next phase, dominated by his two large-scale drypoints of 1655, including *Christ Presented to the People* and paintings such as *The Jewish Bride* of 1662 in the Rijksmuseum. The so-called *Hundred Guilder Print* reveals a supremely experienced







Cat. 54 detail

hand working the plate to produce complex and nuanced differentiations of light and shade within the overall gray tones that define the composition, versus the high-contrast treatment of tonal values and bolder, more differentiated lines in the later print.

Both prints have unusual titles that elide the identification of their subject matter: *The Hundred Guilder Print* refers to the extreme monetary value of this ambitious production, and *La Petite Tombe* references an art dealer, Pieter de la Tombe, who was a friend of Rembrandt's and in at least one case the co-owner of an artwork with him—a painting by Giorgione (c. 1477–1510).¹ Yet although there is evidence to justify the titular high price of *The Hundred Guilder Print* from just a few years after it was made, it has also been suggested that Rembrandt did not intend to sell the print, but rather to give it to patrons and friends.² The same may be true for the second plate, with its associations with a friend and supporter, particularly during the difficult time leading up to Rembrandt's bankruptcy.³

As has been stated abundantly elsewhere, *The Hundred Guilder Print* depicts multiple passages from the Gospel of Saint Matthew, chapter 19, in which Jesus heals the sick, blesses the children, responds to questions from the Pharisees, and advises a rich young man on how to attain everlasting life.⁴ The chapter's overall message of compassion for the young, the poor, and the weak is summed up in its final verse: "But many who are first will be last, and the last will be first," a sentiment the print embodies at every turn.

Rembrandt was not the first to depict multiple episodes of Christ's preaching in a single composition, but his genius was to unite the disparate episodes into one fluid and compelling composition. Calculatedly off-center, Christ stands in a flood of light that seems to emanate from his very being. He is surrounded by over forty figures of all descriptions—young, old, rich, poor, believers, and nonbelievers. The less fortunate enter through a tall stone archway on the right seeking cures to their infirmities, while to the left Jesus opens his arms wide to a mother and child, rebuking his apostle who tries to keep the children away. The lightly delineated group at the far left of the print with their backs to him while talking among themselves, are identified as the Pharisees who, in Matthew 19:3–12, challenge Jesus from their Jewish faith on the legality of divorce. Seated with his hand over his mouth is the despondent young rich man, unhappy with Christ's suggestion that he must give up everything to attain everlasting life (Matthew 19:16–22); and on the right, the camel arriving through the archway illustrates Jesus's next statement, that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God" (Matthew 19:24).

Rembrandt's technical innovations rivaled and exceeded his iconographic ones in *The Hundred Guilder Print*, where his use of light and shade leads the viewer's eye from the figure of Christ to the crowd streaming toward him, and then to the dramatically lit unbelievers in the upper left who cannot faze the calm of the glowing Messiah. The artist combined all the printmaking techniques at his disposal to produce a dizzyingly wide range of effects: at its

core is etching, which visibly defines the setting, from the *repoussoir* in the foreground to the defining contours of masonry in the background. Despite the clarity of the etched lines around the print's perimeter, the overall tonality of the print is a luminous, nonlinear gray accented by the lustrous creamy tone of the Japanese paper on which this impression and many other early ones were printed.⁵

This tonality results from Rembrandt's copious use of drypoint across the plate, including most drastically in the nearly invisible seated figure leaning against a haystack in the lower right, and in accents such as the costume of the mother ascending the step toward Christ. Jesus's face is made up of evanescent scratches, while the supplicating couple beneath to his left are covered in an even network of tiny drypoint lines that places them in the shade, while the woman's praying hands cast a distinctive shadow on Christ's robe. Indeed, her hands are almost exactly in the center of the print, emphasizing the significance of even the least fortunate believers in Jesus's teaching.

Two states of *The Hundred Guilder Print* survive, which differ only in small particulars, most noticeably the darkening of the donkey's neck on the right, casting the edge of the composition in deeper shadow.⁶ If Rembrandt printed from the plate at an earlier stage in the process, he was careful to destroy the evidence. However, the development of some of the figures is revealed in a few surviving drawings, including one in Berlin that shows (in reverse) the group of supplicants just below Christ (fig. 43). Although the left-hand figures in the drawing differ from the print, the positions of both the reclining and the praying woman were already finalized in this drawing.



Fig. 43. Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669; *Study for the Sick*, for *The Hundred Guilder Print*; ink with wash and traces of white; 5 11/16 × 7 1/4 in. (14.4 × 18.4 cm); Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin Inv. KdZ 2695

La Petite Tombe (cat. 55) also sensitively illustrates Christ's ministry, but is less ambitious in its references. Christ's gaze falls on the small boy, the only figure who does not listen to him, drawing attention to his insistence that to enter heaven, one must recapture the innocence of a child.⁷ The earlier print's gray tonality is absent here, and although the subject is similar, it is on a smaller scale. This comparison reinforces the notion that Rembrandt's most audaciously complex prints, such as the 1634 *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, his first truly painterly composition, or *The Hundred Guilder Print*, were unique events, as though the tension required to maintain equilibrium was perhaps too intense to repeat. It might be argued that he alleviated this problem with the two large-scale drypoints of 1655, which, because of the fragility of the medium, demanded that he radically alter the composition as part of the process, creating a series of "completed" compositions, rather than a single nearly unattainable one.

The Hundred Guilder Print benefited from Rembrandt's deep knowledge of the history of art, which was sustained by his voracious collecting habit.⁸ An engraving in the Weil collection by Jan Harmensz Muller (1571–1628), the striking *Belshazzar's Feast* of circa 1598 (fig. 44),



Fig. 44. Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628; *Belshazzar's Feast*, c. 1598; engraving; image: 13 3/16 × 15 9/16 in. (33.5 × 39.5 cm); Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil Checklist 94



Cat. 55

is the sort of print that may have been in Rembrandt's collection, and would have inspired him with its studied sfumato and dramatic lighting effects. However, the artist most relevant to *The Hundred Guilder Print* is Rembrandt's fellow Leiden native, Lucas van Leyden (c. 1494–1533), whose prints of over a century earlier Rembrandt actively sought, and whose artistic ambition was equivalent to Rembrandt's. Echoes of Lucas's work are apparent throughout Rembrandt's compositions, but in *The Hundred Guilder Print* he seems to have also emulated the delicate silvery tone for which Lucas was praised.⁹

The Weil impression of *The Hundred Guilder Print* is one of the greatest and most distinctive treasures of the collection, but not only because it is one of the most important monuments in the history of printmaking. Inscriptions on the print's verso indicate that it was very likely the impression that Rembrandt gave to one of his most distinguished patrons, Jan Six.¹⁰ It descended through numerous other distinguished collections, including that of the Baron von Leyden, whose collection is at the core of the Rijksmuseum's collection, and the noted Rembrandt connoisseur Captain Gordon Wright Nowell-Usticke, whose *Rembrandt's Etchings: States and Values* sought to guide modern collectors through the minefield of Rembrandt print connoisseurship.¹¹

The sheet itself has unusually wide margins as indeed many of the early impressions on Japanese paper have, and the platemark is accentuated by the bleeding of excess ink, evidence of the extent to which this is a tour de force of printing in addition to being a masterfully-executed composition. The presence of a delicate layer of plate tone is discernible in minutely wiped passages like the white of the prone woman's eye in the center, or the dangling earring of the African figure at right. The extraordinary quality that characterizes this impression, however, is the extra layer of plate tone Rembrandt left on the upper portion of Christ's robe, which in most other impressions is wiped clean. Combined with the creamy luminosity of the Japanese paper, this extra touch of somberness gives Christ a contemplative aspect that both sets him further back in the composition and differentiates his restrained but powerful presence from the more active group on the left. EW



Cat. 56

56

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

Christ at Emmaus, 1654

etching on “Chinese” paper (probably Japanese *gasenshi* paper), state i/v

platemark: 8 1/4 × 6 1/4 in. (20.9 × 15.8 cm)

sheet: 8 7/16 × 6 3/8 in. (21.5 × 16.2 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors’ marks: recto, written in brown ink: WE (Lugt 2617); verso, stamped in blue ink W.D. (Lugt 2612); stamped in black ink: K.E. v Liphart (Lugt 1687); stamped in black ink: * [star shape] (Lugt 2897); stamped in brown ink: CCC [joined in trefoil shape] (Lugt 4684); stamped in blue ink: CS [interlaced] (Lugt 636); stamped in red ink: [stag’s head] / JPM (Lugt 1509)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: William Esdaile (1758–1837), London; his sale, Christies, London, June 11–15, 1840, Lot 700; William Eduard Drugulin (1825–1879), Leipzig; his sale, Sotheby’s London, June 11, 1866, Lot 1362; Karl Eduard von Liphart (1808–1891), Florence; his sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, December 5, 1876, Lot 1386; Carl Schlösser (1827–1884), Elberfeld; his sale, Prestel, Munich, June 7, 1880, Lot 521; Edward Smith, Jr., London; his sale, Sotheby’s London, November 20, 1880, Lot 48; John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), New York; inherited by his family; their sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, March 22, 1944, Lot 89; Kleeman Galleries, New York; Captain Gordon Wright Nowell-Usticke, New York and Christiansted, St. Croix; his sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, April 30–May 1, 1968, Lot 316; Charles Cunningham Jr. (b. 1934), Boston; Joseph R. Ritman (b. 1941), Amsterdam; his sale, Sotheby’s and Artemis, New York and London, 1995, cat. 52, until 1999

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 90; Boston-New York 1969, cat. 19; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 87); White 1969, 90 and 262n; Berlin 1970, cat. 117; Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, 18; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cats. 5–6; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 87 (this impression); Hinterding 2008, no. 72; Perlove and Silver 2009, 318; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 283)

57

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

Christ Appearing to the Apostles, 1656

etching, only state

platemark: 6 3/8 × 8 5/16 in. (16.2 × 21.1 cm)

sheet: 6 9/16 × 8 7/16 in. (16.7 × 21.4 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors’ marks: verso, stamped in reddish-brown ink: S [circled] (not in Lugt)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Dr. Otto Schäfer; Christie’s London, December 5, 2006, Lot 207

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, nos. 68 and 76; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 89); White 1969, 107–109; Boston-St. Louis 1980–81, cat. 168; Paris 1986, cat. 128; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cat. 152; Hinterding 2008, 195–97, no. 74; Perlove and Silver 2009, 321–22; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 296)

Rembrandt swayed between producing very dark, densely worked prints and very light, evanescent ones like these, sometimes both in the same year. In 1654, the year he made *Christ at Emmaus*, he etched three other scenes from the life of Christ in the same size, all plates that became intensely dark in their later states: *Presentation in the Temple*, *The Descent from the Cross*, and *The Entombment*. It has been argued that these may have been intended as part of a loose series, something that was very common in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish print market, but despite the presence of a handful of series-like groups of prints pertaining to the life of Christ, Rembrandt assiduously avoided that narrative solution, perhaps because it seemed too much like a common marketing strategy.¹



Cat. 57

The airy quality of these etchings is appropriate to the subjects, which in both cases references the uncanny reappearance of Christ in the flesh after his Crucifixion. His absence from the tomb was first noticed by Mary Magdalene on the Sunday following the Crucifixion, at which point he appeared to her in the guise of a gardener (John 20:11–18). That same day, he joined a pair of his disciples on the road, who did not realize who he was, but who nonetheless invited him to stay with them in an inn at Emmaus when night fell (Luke 24:13–35). *Christ at Emmaus* (cat. 56) portrays the moment when the disciples finally recognize him at the breaking of bread, recalling the Last Supper.² Christ then disappeared from sight, and the disciples returned immediately to Jerusalem to tell the apostles of their news. Christ appeared there among them once again (John 24:36–49), the subject of *Christ Appearing to the*

Apostles (cat. 57). The surprise, consternation, and spiritual revelation of this visit are apparent in the gestures of the men surrounding the unnaturally elongated figure of Christ, who seems to float in their midst, and dazzles the crowd with his light.

If Rembrandt's Christ is in the process of disappearing into thin air in Emmaus, in *Christ Appearing to the Apostles*, his bright presence overtakes the crowd.³ The biblical passage says that he "breathed upon" the assembled group, bestowing upon them the "Holy Spirit" and the authority to preach his gospel (John 20:22).⁴ The images are vibrant but ascetic, befitting the austerity of the seventeenth-century Protestant Reformation, sectors of which advocated a return to the early practices of the primitive church.⁵

Both prints are distinctive in their facture and presentation, not least because they are pure etchings produced in the decade when dense black passages and velvety accents became the defining characteristics of Rembrandt's prints. *Christ at Emmaus* is a first-state impression before drypoint additions, and it is printed on so-called Chinese paper.⁶ In the second state, Christ's face is more clearly defined, contrasting with the almost invisible right side here, which serves to mark his transitional status between flesh and spirit. This ethereality is even more clearly stated in the broken quality of the line in *Christ Appearing to the Apostles* of a year later. Rembrandt seems to have broken down the etched lines with a scraper and burnisher, turning them into dotted lines, emphasizing the brilliance of Christ's divine "breath"—and resulting in one of his most remarkably austere compositions.

Of twenty-two first-state impressions of *Christ at Emmaus* recorded in public collections, seventeen are on Japanese or "Chinese" papers, which suggests not only that Rembrandt valued this state, but that he considered the sheen of the Japanese papers to be the best option for conveying its intended effects.⁷ This also mirrors the preponderance of Japanese papers in early impressions of *The Hundred Guilder Print* (cat. 54), and reinforces the notion that by the late 1640s, a time that coincides with his earliest use of Japanese papers, Rembrandt had conceived of the early states of his prints as a special category, whether it was simply a "luxury" item, or befitting the category of gifts to special patrons and friends.⁸

The Weil impression of *Christ at Emmaus* is not only on a particularly thin sheet of "Chinese" paper (probably Japanese *gasenshi*)—which enhances the scene's spiritual radiance—it was also printed with a thin veil of plate tone in the area around Christ's head.⁹ This extra tone, not unlike in *The Hundred Guilder Print*, is unusual in impressions of this print, and it testifies to the way Rembrandt treated each impression as a distinct object with often subtle but meaningful differences. EW



58

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

The Large Lion Hunt, 1641

etching and drypoint, state ii/ii

platemark: 8 13/16 × 11 3/4 in. (22.4 × 29.8 cm)

sheet: 9 1/16 × 11 15/16 in. (23 × 30.4 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: recto, blind-stamped: R.D [in oval] (Lugt 2200); verso, stamped in black ink: R.G./ST. [circled] (Lugt 2213a); stamped in black ink: G.B. [circled] (Lugt 1138a)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Alexandre Pierre François Robert-Dumesnil (1778–1864), Paris; possibly sold by Phillips, London, April 12, 1836, one of Lots 133–136; Richard Gutekunst (1870–1961), Bern; sequestered by the British government in 1914 and sold as a penalty for “trading with the enemy” by order of the Public Trustee, London, through Garland Smith and Co., London, December 2–3, 1920, Lot 505; George Biörklund (1877–around 1975), Stockholm; Helmut H. Rumbler, Frankfurt, until 2001

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 113–1; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 114); Munich 1982, 101–3; Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, cat. 42; Washington 2001, 65; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cat. 106; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 114 (this impression); Hinterding 2008, no. 96; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 187)

Signs of rapid draftsmanship characterize Rembrandt's 1641 *Large Lion Hunt*, with the frenetic quality of its etched lines echoing the intensity of the moment. Horses rear in fright while their riders use arrows, swords, and spears to stop two raging lions in their tracks, one of which has already been dispatched. Crisscrossing the downed horse left of center, chaotic lines not related to the animal's form can be read either as signs of a change in composition (pentimenti) or as lines evoking the energy of the fallen steed and its squashed rider, whose struggle is palpable underneath his wide-eyed mount.

The state of "unfinish" in this print is not unusual among Rembrandt's prints (see cats. 52, 54, 56, and 57), although the examples in the Weil collection make clear that his justifications for *infinito* range from familiar intimacy (cat. 52) to divinity (cats. 56 and 57), whereas the message here seems to be Rembrandt's *disegno*—the merging of his mind with the manual facility of his hand.¹ His two earlier etchings of lion hunts were also rapid-fire sketches, but they are muddier compositions. This serves to emphasize the virtuoso performance here, likely inspired by his study of works by other artists. The print is also distinctive for the almost invisible film of tone in the background, including portions of the sky where clouds appear out of the dim surface tone. In the early 1640s, Rembrandt was experimenting with a corrosive agent to achieve such areas of tone, although earlier he had tried directly applying acid to ever-so-lightly etch areas of his plates.²

The hunt had a venerable pictorial tradition in antiquity and medieval Europe (see cat. 9), which was revived in print series by Stradanus (1523–1605) and his student Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630) in late sixteenth-century Italy.³ Their prints were surely models for Rembrandt, as they had been for his elder contemporary Peter Paul Rubens, whose monumental hunt paintings redefined the genre for future generations.⁴ Rubens's career loomed large for Rembrandt, who would have known at a minimum the engravings after his hunt paintings.⁵ Unlike Rubens, however, Rembrandt made few hunt scenes, although a similar-looking lion plays a central role in *The Concord of the State*, a grisaille oil sketch probably from the same year.⁶ Although this work's precise purpose and meaning are not clear, its military imagery suggests a link to the ongoing Eighty Years War with Spain, which was not resolved until 1648.⁷ Indeed, a rampant lion was the central symbol of the Netherlands, prompting the question of whether this might lie behind Rembrandt's choice of the lion for three hunt scenes.

The Large Lion Hunt is, however, anything but local, and the turbans, the presence of a black man in the retinue, not to mention the looming palm tree, all confirm an exotic, oriental setting worthy of the Holy Land. Although the symbolism of the lion in part defined him as a noble, caring beast, his brutal side is foregrounded in the hunt. In contrast to the lion hunts by Tempesta and Rubens, however, Rembrandt's lions are overwhelmed and vanquished by the hunters who in turn escape relatively unscathed. EW



59

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

Faust (The Scholar in His Study), c. 1652

etching, drypoint, and engraving on oatmeal paper, state i/iii

platemark: 8 1/4 × 6 5/16 in. (21 × 16 cm)

sheet: 8 5/16 × 6 3/8 in. (21.1 × 16.2 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: verso, written in gray ink: C[D or T]E (collector's mark not in Lugt)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Christie's New York, May 11, 1993, Lot 52; Artemis Fine Arts, New York and London, until 1993

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gersaint 1751, no. 250; Mariette 1857–58, 354 (IV); Leendertz 1921, 132–41; Leendertz 1923–24; Bojanowski 1938; Bojanowski 1940; Scholte 1941; Rehorst 1950; Rotermund 1957; Lehmann and Ettlinger 1958; Behling 1964; van de Waal 1964; Boston-New York 1969, 11; Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 270); White 1969, 170, 191, and 262n; McIntosh McHenry 1989; Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92, cat. 33; Grothues 1992; Carstensen 1993, 61–123; Perlove 1994–96, 91–96; De Vries 1998; Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, cat. 69; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, cat. 150; Hinterding 2006, vol. 1, 149–51; St. Louis 2006, checklist, Bartsch 270 (this impression); Paris 2007, cat. 173; Hinterding 2008, no. 198; Perlove and Silver 2009, 63–67; Mettingen 2012, cat. 29; New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 270)

The first clue to the unusual nature of Rembrandt’s “Faust” etching is the glowing apparition suspended in front of the window of a man’s study. The man’s face is illuminated by these glowing disks, which form the print’s central enigma. More prosaically labeled *The Scholar in His Study*, the print is among those works of art that yield interpretation after interpretation and yet remain a mystery, but unlike Giorgio Ghisi’s *Allegory of Life* (cat. 10), which accumulates new meanings that deepen our understanding of it, additional interpretations of this print often require shedding previous attempts.

Rembrandt did not sign or date this plate—this was not unusual for him, but the problem of interpretation is further compounded by the lack of contemporary references. The earliest mention of the print is from 1679, when it was called a “practicing alchemist” in the stocklist of print dealer Clement de Jonghe, whose portrait was etched by Rembrandt, and who acquired a large portion of Rembrandt’s plates, which he reprinted.¹ It was first mentioned as *Faust* in the eighteenth century, and that name persists, although opinion is divided about its accuracy, including not only whether it portrays Faust, but also which “Faust” is intended.² The third general trend, which has even more branches, aims to decode the round disk with letters, frequently identifying it with Dutch interest in the Kabbalah, which must simultaneously acknowledge the Christian symbolism at its very center: *INRI*, the letters that appeared above Christ on the cross identifying him (in Latin) as “Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews.”³

Early impressions are often printed on Japanese paper, or, like the Weil version, on cartridge, or “oatmeal” paper—an off-white paper with inherent brown flecks that was produced for practical purposes like wrapping, but which Rembrandt used with some frequency in his prints.⁴ Three to four years after *The Hundred Guilder Print* (cat. 54), he continued to contrast brightly lit and barely delineated details with densely worked areas of shadow, with even those darkest areas remaining evanescent, as is evident in the cloth and paper in the upper left quadrant of this print. The appearance of the print varies depending on the type of paper and the way he inked the plate, but in the Weil impression, as in other early ones, it is possible to discern two disembodied arms that emerge from behind the illuminated disk to point at a second disk, generally called a mirror, which seems to be held perpendicular to the lettered disk.⁵

Knowing Rembrandt’s fascination with his predecessors, it is tempting to compare *Faust* with earlier images of scholarly or other intellectual activity.⁶ Two of Albrecht Dürer’s *Meisterstiche* come to mind: *Saint Jerome in His Study* (cat. 49), with its less mysterious setting, but similarly intense vision of a scholar at work, and *Melencolia I* (cat. 50), an engraving with an even longer list of divergent interpretations. Different as these three prints are, they share a fascination with the rigorous inner life of individuals engaged in deep intellectual pursuits. EW



Section VI: The Body

Beginning with the earliest examples of figurative carving, artists have relied upon the human form as one of their most effective and popular tools for artistic expression. This section contains a variety of examples that demonstrate the efficacy of the individual figure in conveying emotion and narrative detail. For example, in the engraving by Jan Muller the final moments of Cleopatra's life gain dramatic impact through the powerfully posed female body. There are also objects that have been appreciated because they reproduce well-known exemplars of the body, particularly mythological gods or heroes (Apollo or Hercules) and legendary royalty (Cleopatra or the princess Ariadne). Subjects range from a famous sculptor posed in his studio amid his creations to illustrations of biblical narratives and well-known myths. Among the most meaningful human forms was that of Jesus, and the three examples in this section of the exhibition represent the range of interpretative modes for portraying this most important Christian subject.



The Massacre of the Innocents, n.d.

engraving, state i/iii

sheet, trimmed: 19 × 14 7/8 in. (48.3 × 37.8 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Kate Ganz, London, until 1994

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hirschmann 1919, 125; Reznicek 1961, 68, 145; Storrs 1972, cat. 8; Berlin 1979, cat. 70; TIB, vol. 3 (Goltzius, no. 23); Vienna 1987, cat. IV.18; Bromberg 1989, 170; Filedt Kok 1991, 363–64; Filedt Kok 1993, no. P.2; Evanston-Chapel Hill 1993, 74; Amsterdam 1993–94, 178; Boerner 1998, cat. 29; Hamburg 2002, cat. 4; Washington 2001, 17–18; Williamstown-Madison-Lawrence 2001, cat. 16; Amsterdam-New York-Toledo 2003–4, cat. 14; Bialler 2003, 89–90; Charton 2007, no. 24; New Hollstein (Goltzius, no. 15)

The biblical King Herod of Judea appears in a striking pose with his hand behind his back in Hendrick Goltzius's *Massacre of the Innocents*. This undated and unfinished engraving was designed as the right half of a projected image that would have been constructed from two plates.¹ The arrested composition was on its way to becoming a mass of scantily draped flesh, in which there is a distinct contrast between the intensely sculptural figures of the foreground males (with at least one direct quote from antique statuary), and the fleshier, less idealized physiques of the mothers, distraught yet battling fearlessly to protect their doomed sons.

When the three magi from the east told Herod about the birth of the obscure child Jesus of Nazareth, destined to take over Herod's kingdom, he sent the magi to determine the child's location. The story from there is told sparingly in Matthew 2:16: "Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wrath, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem. . . ."

The tyrant king thus ordered the most drastic measure imaginable to eliminate his rival: the slaughter of every male child under age two in the entire town of Bethlehem. Herod was, however, thwarted not only by the magi, who found the child without divulging his location, but also by Joseph who fled with Mary and Jesus into Egypt under cover of darkness (see cat. 52). The theme of Herod as tyrant carried topical associations in the sixteenth-century Netherlands, where it was no leap of faith to associate the biblical tyrant with the Spanish Habsburg rulers who had for decades used cruel and oppressive tactics to quell any attempt at self-determination.²

Three other sixteenth-century depictions of the subject by Haarlem artists are significant for understanding Goltzius's composition: a two-sheet engraving dated 1551 by Goltzius's teacher, Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert (1522–1590), after the renowned Haarlem painter of the previous generation, Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574); and two paintings of 1590 and 1591 by Goltzius's close friend and colleague Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem.

The date of Goltzius's *Massacre of the Innocents* has been disputed, but most scholars argue that it predates Cornelis Cornelisz's painted versions by about five years, thus placing Goltzius's print at the start of a dialogue between the two friends.³

By contrast, Goltzius's unfinished engraving spars directly with Coornhert's print: finished, it would have more than doubled the earlier print's already impressive scale, and Goltzius's attention to anatomical detail also sought to improve on Coornhert's summary delineation of muscular structure.⁴ The prints share a preponderance of nudity, most notably in the figure of Herod—by no means a common feature in depictions of the subject. Heemskerck posed him in the distant background, but Goltzius placed him in the foreground in a three-quarter pose seen from behind, borrowing directly from the famous *Farnese Hercules*, which Goltzius studied carefully in Rome in 1591. For this engraving, which predates his Roman trip, he referred to someone else's drawing of the statue, perhaps that of Maerten van Heemskerck, whose Roman sketchbook was owned by Cornelis Cornelisz.⁵ EW

61

Nicolò della Casa, Italian (born France), active 1543–1548

Portrait of the Sculptor Baccio Bandinelli in His Workshop, n.d.

engraving, trial proof from the unfinished plate

platemark: 16 7/8 × 12 15/16 in. (42.9 × 32.9 cm)

sheet: 18 1/2 × 14 15/16 in. (47 × 37.9 cm)

selected inscriptions and collectors' marks: recto, stamped in black ink: T.L. [in double oval] (Lugt 2446)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), London; C. G. Boerner, New York, until 2006

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fiorentini and Rosenberg 2002

In this unfinished full-length portrait engraving, Florentine sculptor Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560) appears in a sculptor's studio in gentlemanly regalia rather than artisan's clothes, statues scattered about him.¹ His left hand reaches out toward the viewer, demonstrating the engraver's prowess at foreshortening, while his right hand grips a statuette of Hercules—an allusion to the sculptor's famously reviled *Hercules and Cacus* in Florence.² Hercules had particular political significance in early-sixteenth-century Florence as a symbol of the powerful Medici family. Indeed, the statuette in the sculptor's hand mimics the figure on the seal of Cosimo I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany and Bandinelli's patron, with its exaggerated *contrapposto*, lion skin, and club. Thus, this print boldly announces Bandinelli's favored status in the Medici court.



Erna Fiorentini and Raphael Rosenberg called this large-scale engraving “probably the most monumental engraved representation . . . of a sixteenth-century artist” in Europe.³ The print also expresses colossal political ambition. By laying a lion—a symbol of Florence—tame at the sculptor’s feet, the image grants the Medici-backed Bandinelli a municipal sovereignty that his massive, forward-reaching body martially defends. The lion and the artist’s long beard invoke the figure of Saint Jerome, renowned in Renaissance Europe for his learning, asceticism, and posthumous miracles.⁴ By emulating this erudite saint, Bandinelli is tacitly exalted as a holy translator as well as an artist, one who makes antiquity comprehensible to the Renaissance mind through his artistic labors.

The small statuettes pictured around Bandinelli indicate his skill in the three-dimensional medium of sculpture. To Bandinelli’s left, two female nudes on a high pedestal are shown as paired frontal and dorsal forms. Underneath them, the outlines for three male nudes offer front, back, and profile views. Across the foreground, five small *bozzetti* (models) that recall ancient sculptural fragments such as the *Belvedere Torso* (fig. 45) capture the male nude from various angles.

This proof is the only surviving impression printed from the copper plate on which the composition was in the process of being engraved. The engraving was apparently never finished, and the complete image (albeit in reverse orientation) is known only through a different print dated 1548.⁵ Fiorentini and Rosenberg attribute the Weil impression to Nicolò della Casa, a Frenchman who worked in Rome between 1543 and 1548, and the second, finished version to Nicolas Beatrizet (1507/1515–c. 1565), a contemporary of della Casa’s who worked in the same circles.⁶ Since the Weil impression is unique, irregularly inked, and bears, especially at lower right, doubled marks indicating that the plate “chattered” when it passed through the printing press, it seems likely that it was not meant for public consumption. Rather, it was a working proof, made so that the printmaker could check his progress in engraving the plate. The Weil proof impression shows the engraver working most attentively on the artworks around the studio first, leaving the central figure of Bandinelli himself only summarily indicated. That Nicolò della Casa began work on the background rather than the portrait’s subject is not unexpected: the surviving working proofs of Albrecht Dürer’s *Adam and Eve* show that master printmaker working intensively on the background landscape before addressing the main figures.⁷ TJ and LP



62

Italian, 16th century, Mantua or Padua

Seated Apollo, first half 16th century

bronze, hollow cast

7 1/8 × 3 3/4 × 5 3/8 in. (18.1 × 9.5 × 13.7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, until 2001

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Zock 2001, cat. 7



Fig. 45. Apollonios, Greek; *Belvedere Torso*, copy after earlier original, 1st century BCE; marble; signed “*Appolonios, son of Nestor, Athenian*”; height: 62 5/8 in. (159 cm); Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican Museums, Vatican City Inv. 1192

Essential to the Renaissance notion of the antique was the study and reproduction of Roman and Greek sculpture. Often fragmentary, such prized records from the ancient past prompted artists to adopt their poses into religious and secular paintings and to make direct copies in pen and ink, red and black chalk, marble, and bronze. This seated male nude was definitely inspired by just such a noted antiquity, the famous marble sculpture from the Vatican, the so-called *Belvedere Torso* (fig. 45). Known in Rome since the fifteenth century, the sculpture had entered the Vatican by the middle of the sixteenth century and was greatly esteemed both by artists and connoisseurs.¹ Michelangelo acknowledged great admiration for the piece, and in 1556 it was published in a volume devoted to Roman antiquities, garnering it even more widespread fame.² Seated on an animal skin laid over the trunk of a tree, the figure was known as a representation of Hercules up until the eighteenth century.

The bronze in the Weil collection has been augmented with the addition of a right knee, full pectoral muscles, and an idealized head.

A second nearly identical version of this bronze is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, distinguished by slightly more detailed chasing in the groin and the facial features.³ The popularity of the *Belvedere Torso* fostered numerous other copies, with different amounts of augmentation. One of the best known is in the Bargello in Florence where the figure is seated on a stump like the original with a full right leg.⁴ Another variation in Minneapolis has a fully restored body, with complete legs and arms, and is sometimes identified as Bacchus.⁵

The intricate handling of the hair and face and the superior and sophisticated modeling of the torso set this version apart from most of the others that are known. It is clear, when comparing it to the Bargello piece, that it represents a more classicizing and less mannerist interpretation of the torso, and also a subtler and more refined rendering of the human form. It may not reflect an artist with direct experience of the Vatican marble, and therefore, it need not have been made in Rome. The Victoria and Albert sculpture has been associated with northern Italy, perhaps Padua, and the Bargello sculpture has been attributed to a Florentine workshop. One writer has even suggested Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560) as a possible author for the Weil torso, given his known fascination with the antique male nude and a drawing

that he made of the Belvedere example.⁶ Bandinelli's interest in fragmentary antiquities is made explicit in the Nicolò della Casa engraving (cat. 61). Although one can relate the classical profile of the head with some of Bandinelli's carved marble busts, the otherwise moderate interpretation of the torso and the gray/black patina argue for a non-Florentine facture. The Minneapolis *Bacchus* has been associated with the workshop of Antico in Padua, and the London example is catalogued as northern Italy, probably Padua.⁷ Although this work cannot be associated with a specific workshop, a northern Italian manufacture (Padua or Mantua) seems appropriate. JWM

63

Italian, 16th century, Rome

Pasquino, c. 1550, from the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae

engraving, only state

published by Antoine Lafréry, French (active Italy), 1512–1577

image: 15 5/8 × 11 1/16 in. (39.7 × 28.1 cm)

platemark: 15 13/16 × 11 1/4 in. (40.2 × 28.6 cm)

sheet: 21 × 15 7/16 in. (53.3 × 39.2 cm)

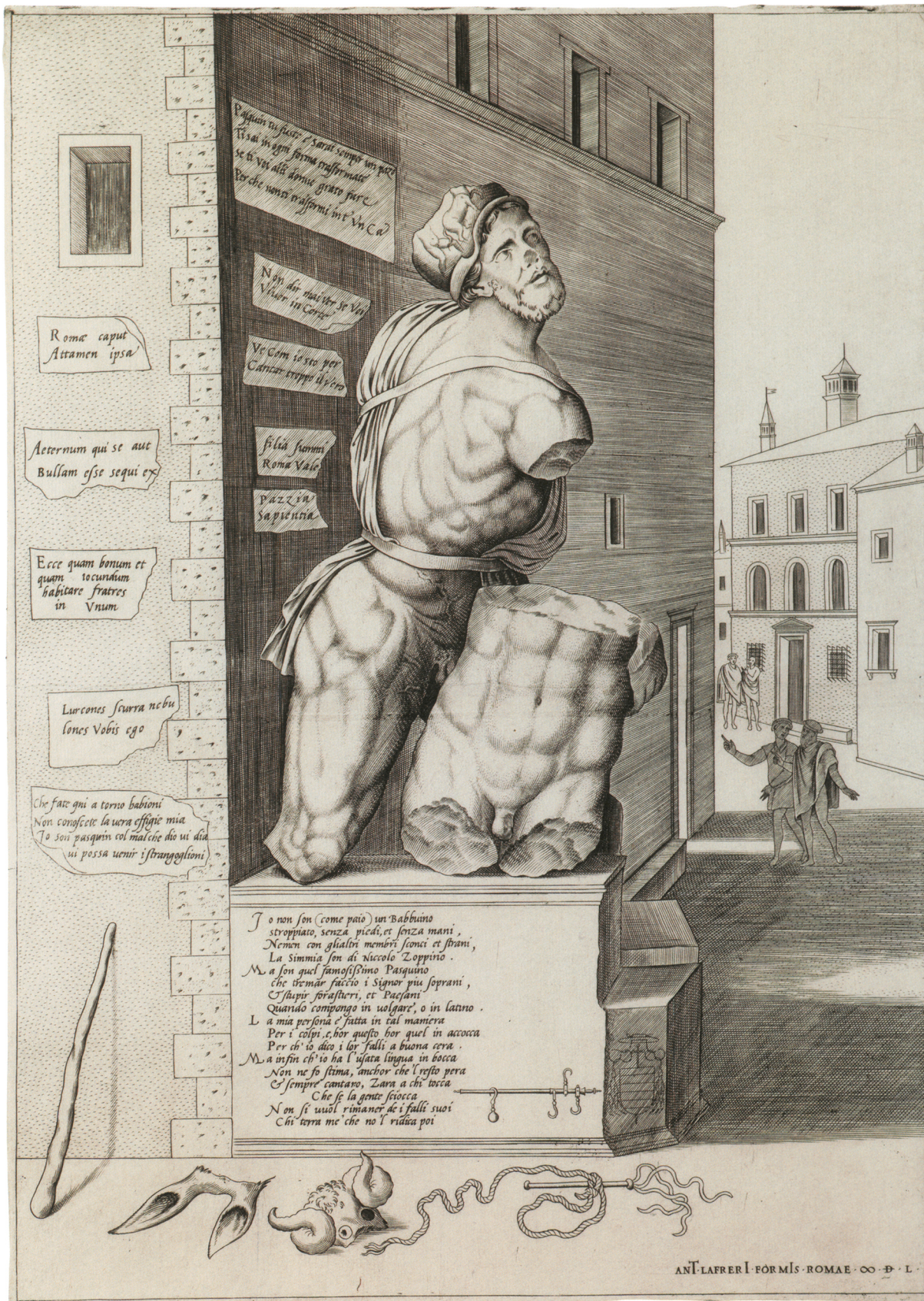
Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Carolyn Bullard, Dallas, TX, until 2002

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Huelsen 1921, no. 71a; Linzeler and Adhémar 1932, II, 351; Arrigoni and Bertarelli 1939, 322, no. 3185

Pasquino is the oldest of Rome's "talking statues," the sculpted figures to which Renaissance pundits affixed anonymous commentaries about the events of the day. An ancient sculpture unearthed in the fifteenth century in a badly mutilated state, Pasquino was installed in 1501 in the small Roman square that was soon named for him. The engraving shows the damaged sculpture there in Piazza Pasquino alongside the Palazzo Orsini, where the Cardinal Oliviero Carafa (1430–1511) lived. A cardinal with humanist leanings whose coat of arms appears in the print on Pasquino's pedestal, Carafa may have placed Pasquino on this site, and also may have begun the tradition of dressing the sculpture in mythological costume on special days.¹

Pasquino "speaks" through the many ephemeral messages pasted around him to deliver unsigned, satiric, biting social commentaries, often on the excesses and corruption of the papal court. Pasquinades became common across Europe during the Counter-Reformation, a practice that continues well into the twenty-first century, a modern wiki for social dissatisfaction—irreverent and beholden to no one.² The print indicates how Pasquino's powerful voice speaks for different groups in Rome by showing pasquinades in Latin as well as the Roman dialect Romanesco. Notably, the Latin phrases are written not in the ecclesiastical style, but rather the humanist version used by scholars. Behind Pasquino is an inscription that reads *Pazzia Sapientia*, literally "Foolishness Wisdom." The phrase's absurd



contradiction underscores Pasquino's role as a truth teller who exposes hypocrisy. But "Sapientia" also refers to the nearby university, La Sapienza, whose scholars often wrote pasquinades lampooning the church or their professors in witty Latin verses. Pasquino's pedestal displays a caudate sonnet, of three quatrains and a couplet followed by a coda, written in Romanesco for a vernacular audience. In this poem, Pasquino declares himself *famosissimo* ("most famous"), a figure who—despite his fragmentary state—can "make tremble the most powerful lords and astonish foreigners and peasants" through the words he publicizes.³

Next to the sonnet, a scale for measuring and weighing is pictured, possibly as an allusion to the metered character of the sonnet and a symbol of just judgment. In the lower foreground of the print are a cudgel, the ears of an ass, a bucranium (ox skull), and a whip. The ass's ears, traditionally a symbol of foolishness and lasciviousness, indicate the excesses of those Pasquino critiques. The whip often symbolizes self-inflicted penance for sinful deeds, perhaps an injunction for those in power to reflect on their own actions.

The prominent modeling of the hypertrophied physique of Pasquino and his companion's fragmentary torso presents a striking contrast to the restraint in detail in the other forms in the image, especially the streamlined depiction of the nearby buildings. The burin's repeated crosshatchings endow Pasquino with a powerful solidity in spite of his ravaged body and disfigured face. Two pairs of much smaller-scaled interlocutors walk down the street, their animated conversation amplifying Pasquino's communicative force. Moreover, the architectural openings emphasized on the surrounding buildings are prime sites of urban sociability: the windows and doors in the picture may be stand-ins for the inquisitive ears and eyes populating these spaces on Rome's streets.⁴

The signature of publisher Antoine Lafréry at the bottom right indicates that the print was published in 1550 as part of his ambitious undertaking, the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*.⁵ Collectors and Roman tourists could make their own selection from the hundreds of prints of Roman sites that the Lafréry workshop offered, and then have their selected prints bound with a standard title page. Consequently, no two compilations of the *Speculum* are alike. This print of Pasquino clearly copies a slightly different 1542 version published by Lafréry's early rival (and later business partner) Antonio Salamanca.⁶ DE and LP

64

Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628
after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, Dutch, 1562–1638

Arion on the Dolphin, c. 1590

engraving, state ii

image: 13 1/8 × 13 7/8 in. (33.3 × 35.2 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 13 7/8 × 13 7/8 in. (35.2 × 35.2 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Colnaghi, London, until 1986

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hollstein (Muller, no. 48); TIB, vol. 4 (Muller, no. 32); Filedt Kok 1994a, 230–31; Filedt Kok 1995, 12; New Hollstein (Muller Dynasty, vol. II, no. 32); van Thiel 1999, no. Pro, 201–2; Haarlem 2012, 44; Stanford 2016, cat. 628, 216–17

65

Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628
after Adriaen de Vries, Dutch, c. 1545/1556–1626

Cleopatra with the Asps, c. 1598

engraving, state ii/iv

image: 14 1/4 × 9 7/8 in. (36.2 × 25.1 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 14 15/16 × 10 1/18 in. (37.9 × 25.7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: William H. Schab Gallery, New York, until 1991

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hollstein (Muller, no. 45); TIB, vol. 4 (Muller, no. 80); Filedt Kok 1994a, 252; Filedt Kok 1995, 21; Amsterdam-Stockholm-Los Angeles 1998, cat. 60; New Hollstein (Muller Dynasty, vol. II, no. 80)

Jan Muller's career as a professional printmaker took shape in both Haarlem and his native Amsterdam during the 1580s, a period of intense artistic and intellectual exchange in the Dutch Republic.¹ His varied collaborations as a printmaker reveal the way artists were engaged in negotiating an emergent discourse of Dutch national identity, frequently calling upon and repurposing imagery from antique culture to reflect the aspirations and values of the young nation.

Engraved after a design by Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Arion on the Dolphin* is a compelling example of Muller's engagement in this highly collaborative environment. Indeed, it was a third individual, the poet Hendrick Laurensz Spieghel (1549–1612), an impassioned advocate of Dutch language and culture, who first commissioned the design.² The engraving depicts an episode from the *Histories* of Herodotus (440 BCE), describing how Arion, a Greek poet credited with the invention of dithyrambic verse, was abducted by pirates. Spieghel later commemorated this incident in his didactic poem *Mirror of the Heart*, which he dedicated to Arion, and which was first published posthumously in 1614.³ Both the engraving and the poem focus on Arion's rescue by a passing dolphin after jumping from the pirate's ship. Sitting astride the dolphin's back, the poet struggles to stay upright, legs akimbo, as the animal plies the turbulent waters and the ship recedes into the distance.



Cat. 64

Much like his mentor Hendrick Goltzius, Muller, too, strove to fully realize engraving's possibilities as a form of sculpture (compare cat. 60). Arion demonstrated the artist's virtuoso ability, even at this early stage in his career, to execute the sculptural effects that gave his figures such a vivid sense of plasticity. Never before had Arion been the bearded Michelangesque strongman into which Muller now chiseled him, modeling his physique in brawny detail, as in the knobby musculature around his knees or the pronounced ridge of muscles that defines his chest.⁴ This image of robust masculinity is heightened by Muller's tightly cropped composition and dramatic use of foreshortening, which thrust his protagonist forward, almost out of the pictorial space, and by a slight perspectival elevation, giving him a statuesque, even monumental aspect.

That Arion should be put on a pedestal, as it were, is hardly surprising in light of Spieghel's admiration for him. Spieghel had an abiding interest in ancient Stoic philosophy, and regarded his fellow poet as a paragon of Stoic grace and resilience.⁵ In Muller's engraving, Arion's struggle to keep his balance emphasizes the necessary element of composure the Stoic must exercise—here quite literally—in order to get through difficult situations. These virtues are physically embodied in Arion's exaggerated musculature and energetic torsion, enlisting him as one of the many herculean figures whose strength and resilience were now lauded as flagship virtues of an emerging Dutch body politic.⁶

Almost a decade later, Muller made an engraving of the famous Egyptian queen Cleopatra, whose legendary infidelities and suicide by snakebite conscripted her in a different kind of body politic.⁷ *Cleopatra with the Asps* belongs to a burgeoning sixteenth-century print culture that reflected modern preoccupations with vice and virtue, not least of all in matters of sexual propriety, with a didactic intent often emphasized through the addition of moralizing inscriptions.⁸ Muller portrays Cleopatra in three-quarter view seated on the edge of a high bed, her nude body on full display, inviting the spectator to examine her as she throws her head back, and gazes up at the sumptuously draped ceiling of her bedchamber. The two large snakes she holds, one of which clamps its mouth around her left breast, possess a noticeably sinister affect.

Here, too, Muller's sensitivity to the affinities between printmaking and sculpture is on display. The engraving was based on a lost *bozzetto* (model), most likely of wax, by Adriaen de Vries, a Dutch-born sculptor who played a key role in introducing northern artists to the visual grammar of mannerist sculpture he knew from working in Italy.⁹ Muller's working proof in the Rijksmuseum reveals that he started the engraving with Cleopatra herself, carefully attending to the three-dimensionality of her form, before ensconcing the completed figure in an interior setting of his own design. Her body is modeled using lines that swell and diminish, gracefully delineating it in a series of sinuous curves that terminate in its visible edges, where they seem to dissolve into shadow.

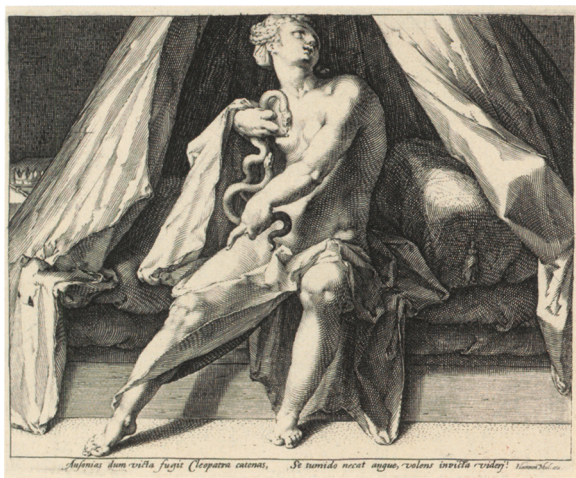
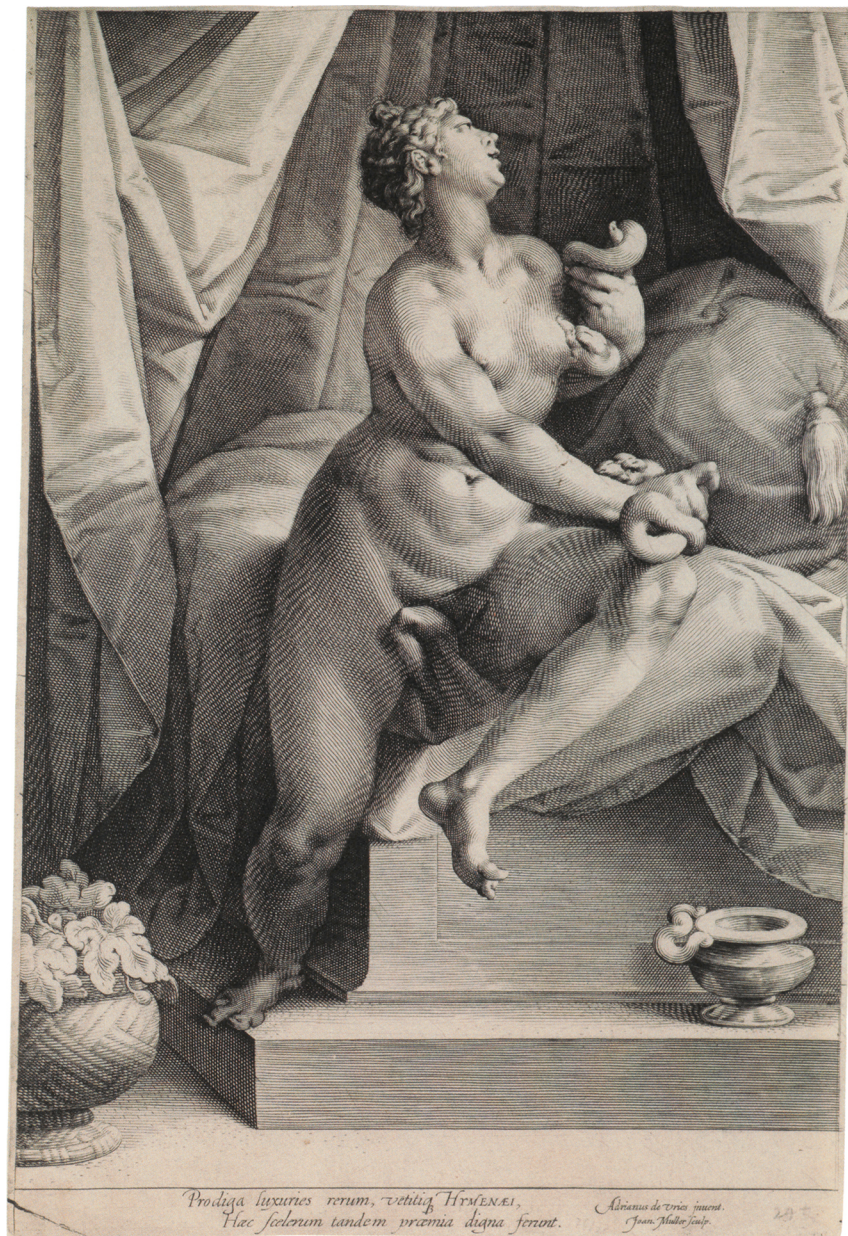


Fig. 46. Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628; *Death of Cleopatra*, 1592; engraving; 7 7/16 × 9 1/8 in. (18.9 × 23.2 cm); Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam RP-P-OB-32.109

Muller had in fact engraved the subject of Cleopatra once before in one of his few original compositions (fig. 46). But unlike his engraving after de Vries, this earlier effort is considerably less sensuous. Instead, it seems almost solely driven by the lesson in virtue it is meant to underscore: with one finger pointed vigorously downward, Cleopatra directs our attention to the moralizing inscription in the sheet's lower margin. Her body appears taut and rigid, her



Cat. 65

modesty protected by Muller's strategic placement of the drapery, and she projects a broad-shouldered, almost masculine aspect. Even the snakes are small and curiously unassuming, bereft of the imposing girth and menacing physiognomy they later acquire from de Vries's model.¹⁰ Indeed, Muller's later engraving of Cleopatra after de Vries demonstrates just how successfully he has absorbed and translated the latter's sculptural aesthetic, with its unrestrained eroticism and powerful sense of volume. In so doing, his second engraving of the deposed queen more openly embraced the tensions between virtue and voyeurism informing so much of late sixteenth-century print culture. LMC



Aegidius Sadeler II, Flemish, c. 1570–1629
after Bartholomeus Spranger, Dutch, 1546–c. 1611

Hercules and Omphale, n.d.

engraving, only state

image: 16 3/8 × 12 1/4 in. (41.6 × 31.1 cm)

sheet, trimmed: 17 3/16 × 12 1/4 in. (43.7 × 31.1 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: William H. Schab Gallery, New York, until 1991

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hollstein (A. Sadeler II, no. 106); Limouze 1990, 150; TIB, vol. 72 (Supplement, A. Sadeler II, no. 7201.105); New York 2014, cat. 218

The curious sight of a virile, hypermuscular Hercules in the act of spinning wool dominates the left-hand side of this composition, while on the right his slave-mistress, the Lydian queen Omphale, fingers his club as she sinuously and sensuously pivots toward the viewer. Hercules's upturned, quizzical gaze suggests full concentration is necessary for him to manipulate the delicate trio of distaff, thread, and spindle in his rough hands. Gender roles are reversed as Hercules performs the feminine act of spinning and Omphale dictates his every move. She dons his signature Nemean lion skin and takes possession of his club while dressing him in drag, pearls in his hair and feminine drapery about his hips.¹ As a single concession to his submission, his foot rests on his club, yet Omphale keeps it firmly in check.

Hercules's iconography is massive: he performed superhuman deeds, including taking Atlas's place holding up the world, and slaying the hydra and the Nemean lion whose skin he wore ever after. His combination of strength and virtue made him an adaptable hero in Greek and Roman lore and beyond, assured by his transformation into an Olympian god following his mortal death at the unwitting hands of his wife, Deianira. It may not be the most frequently told, but the tale of the mythical strongman Hercules being sent into temporary slavery with Omphale, queen of the exotic Eastern country of Lydia, is rich with interpretive possibilities. Its substantial ancient literature includes Ovid's *Heroides*, *Ars Amatoria*, and *Fasti*, and Propertius's *Elegy IV*, which all address the impact of the episode on Hercules's later life.² Propertius, for instance, tells of Hercules's unbearable thirst after slaying Cacus, and how he begged to quench it in the women's sanctuary. Realizing the obstacle his maleness presented to entry, he told the priestess how he had "spun the day's tally on a Lydian distaff . . ." as though his credentials as a former spinner among women would grant him entry into the goddess's exclusive domain (they did not).³

Ovid's *Heroides* presents a lengthier, more poignant and pointed version in the form of a letter from Deianira to Hercules after she learned of his impending death from the poisoned centaur's cloak. Unaware of the cloak's lethal nature, she had just sent it to him upon hearing of his Lydian exploits, hoping it would bring him back to her. Her focus is on the women's clothing and jewels he wore at Omphale's bidding, and on the women's work he did: "Do you

not shrink . . . from laying to the polished wool-basket the hand that triumphed over a thousand toils . . . ?” And about Omphale wearing his lion skin: “O shame, that the rough skin stripped from the flanks of the shaggy lion has covered a woman’s delicate side! . . . you are victor over the beast, but she over you.”⁴

The present engraving introduced this lascivious story of a cross-dressing Hercules shamelessly succumbing to a woman’s wiles to Emperor Rudolf II’s court in Prague circa 1600, in the work of two of the most celebrated artists working there. Bartholomeus Spranger’s mannerist flair is evident in the figures’ dynamic poses, the cascading composition, and the juxtaposition of brawn, erotic heat, and frank humor. The narrative is animated by Aegidius Sadeler’s virtuosic, undulating burin work that circumnavigates muscles, curves, costumes, and props. The web of parallel and variably crisscrossing lines defines a sculptural space that avoids any definitive contour line even as it distinguishes volume from shape and texture—down to the delicate thread that cuts a diagonal across Hercules’s torso. EW

67

possibly workshop of Guglielmo della Porta, Italian, c. 1500–1510–1577

Hercules and Antaeus, c. 1550s

bronze, solid cast

15 1/4 × 6 3/4 × 7 in. (38.7 × 17.1 × 17.8 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Mr. Justice Darling; Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, until 1995

PUBLICATION HISTORY: London 1913, 53

Hercules fought the giant Antaeus, son of the earth goddess Gaea, who derived his superior strength from contact with the earth. When thrown to the ground, Antaeus was restored, so Hercules triumphed by picking Antaeus up and crushing him. It was a favored theme for Florentine artists since Hercules was regarded as a patron of the city; the story also afforded artists an opportunity to display their talents at rendering the human form in action.

One of the most admired depictions in the Renaissance was the famous antique group documented in the Vatican by 1509.¹ The sculpture was fragmentary. Antaeus lacked both his head and arms, and neither figure had full legs. Nonetheless, the sculpture embodied the tension between two powerful males engaged in direct combat.² It was transported to Florence as a gift from the pope to Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici in 1560, arriving in that city in 1564 where it was restored and afforded a prized location in the courtyard of the Pitti Palace (fig. 47).³





Fig. 47. *Hercules and Antaeus*, after a Hellenistic bronze; Roman; marble; Courtyard, Palazzo Pitti, Florence



Fig. 48. *Hercules and Antaeus*; Italian, 16th century, Rome; bronze; Private collection, New York

The Weil bronze was not the first to portray a potential reconstruction. A late fifteenth-century statuette in Baltimore includes a much more animated Antaeus, and examples by the celebrated Mantuan artist Antico present Antaeus's head thrown back.⁴ The Weil bronze is one of two that renders the twosome in positions close to those seen in the statue today. The second and more refined bronze is now in a private collection in New York (fig. 48). The major differences between these copies and the marble original occur in the angle between Antaeus's left leg and hip, causing his left foot in the casts to fall closer to the central axis of the piece, as well as in the amount of bend in Hercules's legs. These variances seem to rule out, in this author's view, the possibility that these bronzes were copies made after the antiquity was restored.⁵ They were created, rather, in anticipation of restoration.

Both versions exhibit the numerous hammer marks required to finish the rough surfaces of solid-cast bronzes caused by the slower cooling of the inner material.⁶ The face of the New York example has been more finely chased, evident in the individual strands of hair, forehead creases, and the clearly delineated mustache and beard. The same detail also characterizes the nails and pubic region. The Weil bronze, by comparison, has only a

distended chin with no indication of a beard. Nonetheless, it seems possible that the two bronzes were based on the same model, and could have been fabricated in the same workshop. The challenge, therefore, is to determine the location of that workshop. When the New York bronze was auctioned in 2007, Charles Avery suggested in the Christie's catalogue that the bronze was created in Florence by Vincenzo Danti (1530–1576). After several failures at casting a large-scale bronze group for the Medici garden fountain, Avery argued, Danti may have prepared a model suggesting a possible restoration of the ancient sculpture.⁷ The existence of two versions of the bronze, however, makes that a less logical explanation, since the creation of a more finished version of essentially the same composition would not further that objective.

Another scenario would place the creator of the bronzes in a city other than the one in which the restoration was to take place. One bronze may have been fabricated in Rome before 1560 as an attempt to imagine the original form of the antiquity in the same way as the other bronzes cited above. Someone may have requested that the bronze be sent to Florence to use as a guide for the restoration of the ancient piece. In fact, it makes sense that these bronzes may not have been created by the person who was working with the actual fragments. In attempting to design legs that could work with the extant remains of Antaeus's thighs, a sculptor with access to the antique sculpture may have realized beforehand that the pose used in the bronze would not work and would have adjusted accordingly. In this scenario, the Weil sculpture may have been the second more cursory version that was sent to Florence, while the original, more heavily chased New York piece remained in the sculptural workshop in which it was made.⁸ The leading studio for bronze casting in Rome at that time was that of Guglielmo della Porta, and it is worth consideration as the originating workshop. JWM







Cat. 68 detail

Ariadne, after the antique, 1690

bronze

H 1 1/8 × 22 3/4 × 9 7/16 in. (28.3 × 57.8 × 24 cm)

marks and labels: on base, stamped: 808 [foundry mark; perpendicular to top]

Collection of Phoebe Dent Weil

PROVENANCE: Chateau de Saint Cloud, 1833; John Augustus Tulk, Great Britain, 19th century; Sir William Perkins Educational Foundation; Alain Moatti, Paris

Monuments from the antique world embodied the ideal forms that Renaissance artists strove to master. They composed the foundation on which artists built their visual vocabulary by copying them and making replicas. By the sixteenth century, prominent Roman families, often members of the pope's circle of family and friends, owned many of the most important pieces. They were highly prized and often quoted by artists of the period. The act of copying itself was an established technique for training one's eye and hand, and as tourism increased in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, artists also created copies for visitors to take home as mementos of their stay.

One of the most admired antiquities in Renaissance and baroque Rome was the reclining figure of Ariadne (see fig. 2), a representation of the Cretan princess (daughter of King Minos), who loved Theseus and helped him conquer the minotaur. The hero did not return her affection and abandoned her while she slept. In the Renaissance, however, this sculpture was thought to represent the Egyptian queen Cleopatra because of the serpent bracelet that encircles the upper left arm, a presumed reference to her suicide by the bite of an asp.

The sculpture was first recorded in 1512 when it was acquired by Pope Julius II and installed as part of a fountain ensemble in the Belvedere court in the Vatican.¹ It was widely known and admired even after the fountain was dismantled in the 1550s and the sculpture was taken to an interior room where it remained until the late eighteenth century.² The Ariadne was one of ten antique sculptures that the French king Francis I commissioned Primaticcio (1504–1570) to replicate in large-scale bronze for the palace at Fontainebleau. Finished by 1543, the works helped establish Francis as an enlightened and intellectual monarch, and they provided models of major examples of Roman antiquities for a French audience.³ Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) admired the Ariadne when he was in France in 1665.⁴ Copies of the bronzes were fabricated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a number of different models were made, sometimes introducing changes such as variations in the base on which Ariadne lies, different designs for her sandals, and alterations in the details of the draped fabric that covers her body.

This bronze was made by the French royal foundry; the founder's mark can be seen on the back behind Ariadne's head. Although this example resulted from a taste that was inspired by the Fontainebleau bronzes, this piece was based on a different model. The straps of Ariadne's sandals, the base on which she reclines, and the position of her right arm behind her head do not conform to the Fontainebleau example. JWM



Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608
 executed by Antonio Susini, Italian, active 1572–1624

Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto), 1588–92

bronze with gilding

12 1/8 × 10 1/8 × 2 1/2 in. (30.8 × 25.7 × 6.4 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Anthony Embden, Paris, until 1997

Although Giambologna is best known for his representations of classical and secular subjects, he was a consummate artist of religious imagery, and his depictions of Christ on the cross were immensely popular in his lifetime and remain so today. A sign of the celebrated reputation these works enjoyed is the long list of high-ranking patrons who owned them, including Pope Pius V, Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici, King Philip II of Spain, and the Grand Duchess Johanna of Austria,¹ not to mention the monumental bronze *Crucifixion* Giambologna made for Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria.² Moreover, the subject was perhaps the single most widely sold item in the sculptor's output. Documents record at least seventeen examples in gold or silver made by Giambologna between 1573 and 1599, and he created an untold number in bronze as well. Additionally, working on their own account, several of his former assistants, including Antonio Susini and Adriaen de Vries (c. 1545/1556–1626), also produced sculptures of this subject, based on Giambologna's designs. In total, over fifty iterations are known to have existed, of which more than twenty survive.³

The place of the Weil corpus in relation to this group can be readily established. It depicts Christ after his death, a subject often referred to by its Italian designation, *Cristo Morto*. (Giambologna also made images of Christ alive on the cross, a subject commonly called *Cristo Vivo*.) The Weil bronze is thirty-one centimeters, or about twelve inches, in height, a scale the artist often used for corpora intended for private devotion; these can be as small as 24 centimeters, and as large as 46.8 centimeters in height. Although the sculptor relied on a basic design that he devised relatively early in his career, each bronze was cast from a separately rendered wax, and certain features, in particular the loincloth (or *perizoneum*), the delicate hands, and the intricate curls of the hair framing the face, had to be worked up anew in the wax before casting each bronze. Consequently, Giambologna's corpora exhibit subtle but clear changes in style, and the bronzes can be grouped and dated, at least approximately.

The Weil version is especially close in style to three documented and dated examples. One is the bronze corpus made for the church of Santa Maria degli Angiolini in Florence, which can be dated to 1588 (fig. 49).⁴ The second is a bronze in San Marco, Florence, from 1589 (fig. 50); and the third is a version in silver, which is documented to 1592 (formerly in the collection of Giancarlo Gallino, Turin).⁵ The Weil bronze shares with these other versions certain characteristics, especially a similar design of the loincloth, with emphatically flat

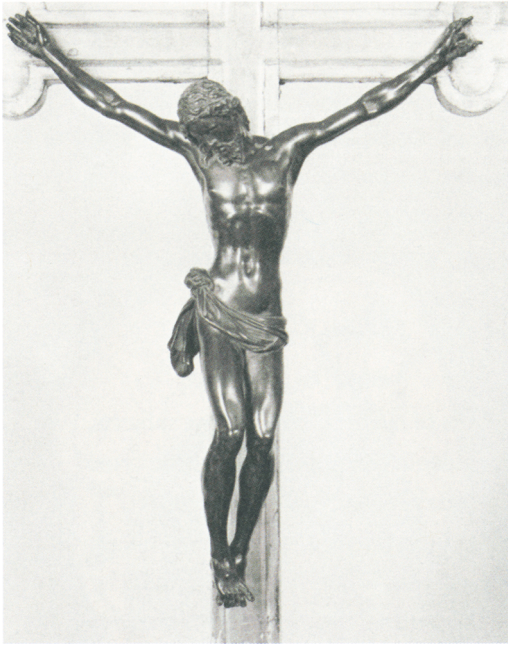


Fig. 49. Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608; *Corpus*, 1588; bronze; height: 18 7/16 in. (46.8 cm); Convent of Santa Maria degli Angiolini, Florence



Fig. 50. Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608; *Corpus*, 1589; bronze with gilding; height: 45 13/16 in. (116.3 cm); Fondo Edifici di Culto - Min. dell'Interno, San Marco, Florence

and angular folds, particularly near the proper right hip, and a relatively high forehead, with a sharp and nearly geometric treatment of the brow over the deep-set eyes. Given these strong similarities, the Weil example also likely dates from around 1588 to 1592. Another bronze corpus, bearing many of the same features, was with the New York and London dealers Hall & Knight in 2001, and at the time was cataloged by Charles Avery as likely from “about 1590.”⁶

The Weil bronze was finished with exquisite care, and it bears a number of traits in its detailing and chasing, such as the parallel surface striations on the loincloth, the angular drapery, and the neatly squared off fingernails and toenails, which are frequently said to be evidence of the hand of Antonio Susini, Giambologna’s principal assistant. The high forehead and geometric delineation of the brow are also consistent with this hypothesis. These features can be compared to the corresponding traits in the *Madonna and Child* by Antonio Susini in the Bargello, for example. It is necessary to be extremely cautious, however, in attempting to identify the assistants who cast and chased Giambologna’s bronzes, as this subject has never been placed firmly on an evidentiary basis. Moreover, the works by Antonio Susini himself have never been studied in depth; and the name of Antonio Susini as caster and/or chaser is associated by dealers, curators, and other connoisseurs with many bronzes by Giambologna, which are in fact inconsistent and various in their chasing. What can be said with confidence is that the Weil bronze is a work of the highest quality, made by Giambologna from his designs, and cast and chased (possibly by Antonio Susini or another master assistant or goldsmith) under Giambologna’s direct supervision around 1588 to 1592. AB

The Crucifixion with Three Crosses, late 16th–early 17th century

bronze or copper repoussé with gilding

11 3/8 × 8 1/2 × 1 in. (28.9 × 21.6 × 2.5 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Sotheby's London, December 9, 1993, Lot 97

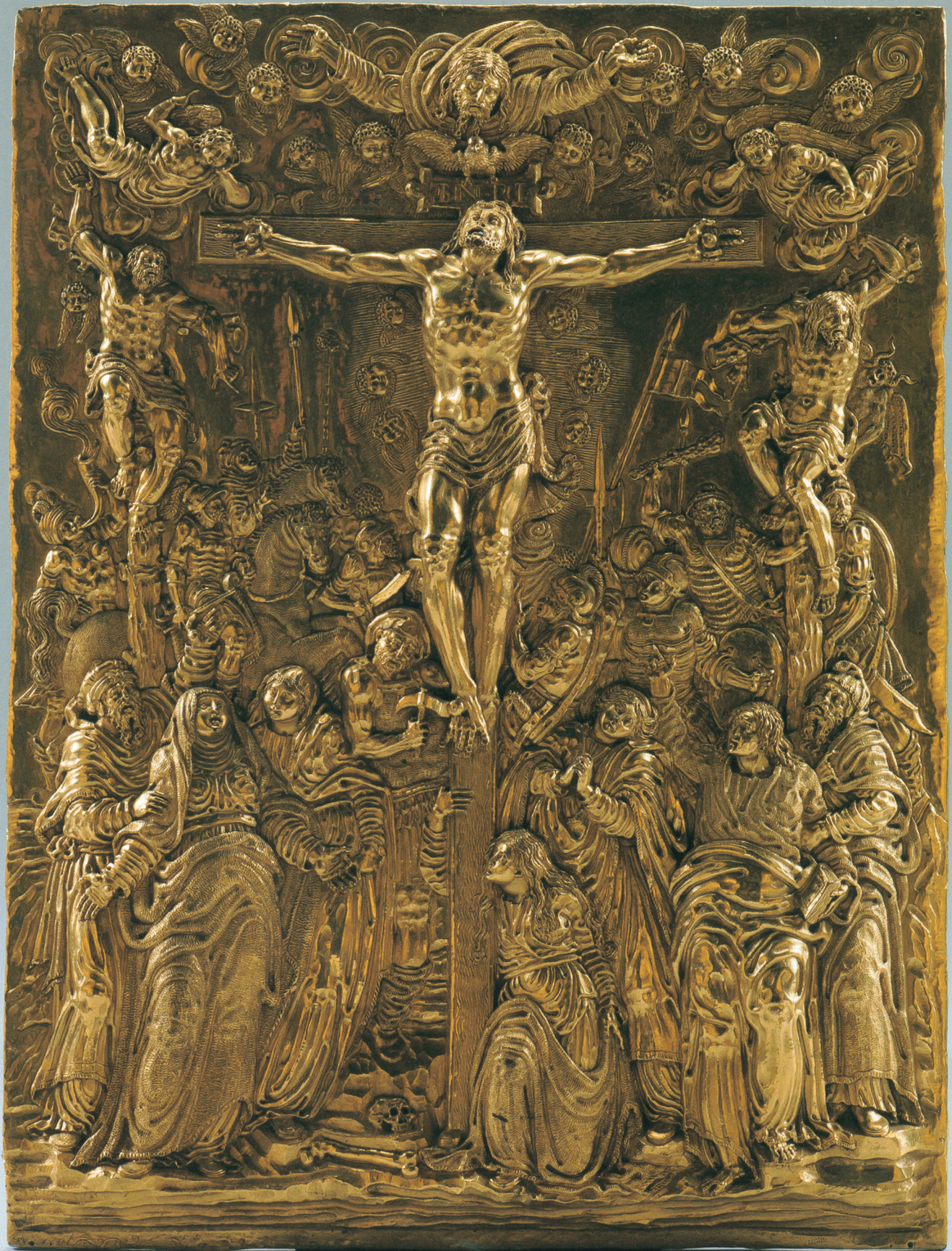
PUBLICATION HISTORY: Sotheby's London 1993, 44, Lot 97

This gilded plaque is among the most visually and iconographically complex sculptural reliefs depicting Christ's Crucifixion. The Bible tells how Jesus was led to Mount Golgotha and crucified between two thieves. Soldiers posted the title claimed for him on top of the cross ("Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews" abbreviated in Latin as *INRI*), offered Jesus a sponge soaked in vinegar to drink, and witnessed his last cry to God as he died. John's Gospel provides the famous account of a Roman soldier who, when he came to break Christ's legs to hasten death, suspected that he was already dead and pierced his side to be sure.

It is surprising how many of these elements have been rendered on this small surface. Eight soldiers, two of whom are mounted on horses, crowd around the three crosses. One holds a lance, centered in the space beneath Christ's right arm, while another raises a sponge. To the left of the cross, the Virgin Mary stands beside Joseph of Arimathea who donated his tomb for Christ's burial. An attendant (one of three Marys traditionally associated with the event) gazes at her. On the right, we find John the Evangelist (with a book) flanked by another Mary with her hands held in prayer and an elder, most likely the priest Nicodemus, at the far right. Mary Magdalene kneels to caress the cross.

Other less common elements from the Crucifixion also appear. A devil peeps from behind the bad thief (by tradition, on Christ's left, or sinister, side). A half moon and full sun hover just above the horizontal cross bar in reference to the descent of darkness at the moment of Christ's death. A skull and a bone lie at the base of the cross since the hill of Golgotha was a burial ground, and by tradition Christ was buried over Adam's grave.¹ One very unusual addition is a turbaned attendant shown blowing through a snaking horn at the far left. The inclusion of God the Father, along with the Dove of the Holy Spirit, is unusual in representations of the Crucifixion. Although images of Christ on the cross often form part of the representation of the Trinity, it is rare to see them in a narrative scene.

This plaque is the work of an accomplished goldsmith, a demonstrative performance of the many ways in which surface texture can be created. Incised lines define the aura around Christ's body. Stippled dots suggest horsehide and drapery linings. Irregular impressions embellish headwear and serve as decorative garment edgings. Parallel grooves define the



folds of cloth, while planar facets represent the rocky terrain. Most noteworthy is the technique by which the figures have been created. This is not a plaque that was made by pouring molten bronze into a mold, as was the case with *The Coronation of the Virgin* (cat. 26). Rather, this panel is an example of repoussé work, where forms were made by hammering from the reverse side.

Although the piece has not received extensive scholarly analysis, those who have seen it theorize that it was made in southern Germany or northern Italy.² The extraordinary handling of the surface suggests an accomplished metalworker, and the leading center for silver and gilded reliefs was the city of Augsburg. It is reasonable to assume this plaque was made somewhere nearby, although further research is needed to assign a specific hand or workshop. JWM

71

designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680
modeled in wax by Ercole Ferrata, Italian, 1610–1686

Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto), 1657–61

bronze with gilding

17 5/8 × 13 1/8 × 3 9/16 in. (44.8 × 33.3 × 9 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Hall & Knight, New York, until 2003

Among the most overlooked aspects of Gianlorenzo Bernini's production are the altar furnishings that he designed for Saint Peter's in his role as architect of the basilica. Commissioned by Alexander VII, each set included six large candlesticks, two smaller ones, a cross, and a body of Christ (called a corpus), one for each of the twenty-four altars in the church. This beautiful corpus is a result of that commission, although the figure was probably created later for a private patron from the original project molds.

Bernini conceived the original design for the figure, most likely starting with ink sketches that were further developed in terracotta models. Only one drawing survives for the entire project, a finished study for the large candlesticks, created by the workshop based on the master's ideas.¹ The physical production was undertaken by members of Bernini's workshop. Ercole Ferrata produced the most important component, the wax models and the molds. Paolo Carnieri cast them in bronze, and a fourth artist provided the finishing work, done prior to the gilding, such as incising eyelids and hair as well as creating texture for the loincloth.² The resulting figures, exemplified by the Weil corpus, are moving renditions of Christ's final moments on the cross.³



The commission called for sculptures suitable for personal prayer, intended for kneeling worshippers who would view them from an angle of thirty degrees below the horizontal.⁴ In designing the figure for the dead Christ, Bernini captured the moment immediately after Christ's death. In Luke 23:44–46, the event was described as follows: “The sun was darkened, and the veil of the Temple was torn in two. Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said, ‘Father, into your hands I commit my spirit!’ Having said this, he breathed his last.” Bernini's Christ is represented just after his final cry; his diaphragm is contracted from exhaling his last breath and his head has fallen forward toward his chest. His loincloth still flutters.



Cat. 71 detail

Commentators have debated how faithfully Ferrata translated Bernini's conception into the finished sculptures.⁵ There is a growing consensus that the figures should be considered accurate reflections of Bernini's ideas rather than independent creations by Ferrata. One writer has suggested that Bernini approved each of the casts.⁶ The high quality of the modeling and the graceful beauty of Christ's pose lend support to such a hypothesis.

Scholars have not been able to account for all twenty-five of the corpora (or twenty-six) that Bernini's workshop originally produced.⁷ Currently, only twenty-two still hang over the altars of Saint Peter's. Therefore, the question must be entertained as to whether the Weil corpus was among the original set. Several later casts, presumably made as individual commissions by Ferrata, have been identified.⁸ Additional examples have come through the art market in recent years, and another one was documented at one time in the Pallavicini collection in Rome.⁹ It is impossible to identify which of those versions may have belonged to the original set of twenty-five or twenty-six that were cast. The high quality and powerful expression of the Weil bronze, however, suggest that this piece may have been among those originally cast in 1661 when the sets were made for Saint Peter's. JWM



Section VII: Bronze and Clay

Bronze was a favored medium during the Renaissance and baroque periods. It was a material frequently used by Greek and Roman sculptors, and in reviving the techniques associated with bronze casting, Renaissance humanists connected to the antique past. Creating works in bronze was closely associated with the additive process of building models from clay; the lost-wax casting process required a wax or terracotta model in order to create a mold. The sculptures in this section demonstrate both the interconnections between bronze and clay and the distinctions between the two. Bronze, an expensive material, resulted in luxury objects with highly finished surfaces. Their production required many steps, and ended with the application of a surface coating as well as the clarification of details using a sharp incising tool. Terracotta could be painted to emulate the appearance of bronze, illustrated by the *Bust of Pomona*. It also preserves the marks made by the sculptor's hands and tools. The *Head of a Young Woman* bears evidence of the artist's fingers that manipulated the clay along with grooves created by guiding various tools through the wet material.



Christ from a Baptism Group, second half 17th century

terracotta

14 1/4 × 4 3/4 × 3 3/4 in. (36.2 × 12.1 × 9.5 cm)

marks and labels: on underside, on tag: 586 or 588 [illegible]

Collection of Phoebe Dent Weil

PROVENANCE: Salander O'Reilly Galleries, New York

This sensitive rendering of Christ was once part of a group of figures that formed a baptism. The subject, told in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, concerned the act of purification that John the Baptist performed by washing Jesus in the river Jordan just prior to Christ beginning his ministry.¹ Traditionally well suited for painted depiction, the subject was popular among seventeenth-century patrons and collectors who sought sculptural representations. Alessandro Algardi produced several in silver and bronze, as well as the terracotta models (*bozzetti*) in which the composition was developed prior to casting.²

This ethereal figure is clearly related to one of the several surviving terracotta models that Algardi created, a group that is now in the collection of the Vatican (fig. 51).³ It is evident that whoever produced this terracotta had studied Algardi's sculpture and repeated some of its specifics. The profile and angle of Christ's head are taken directly from the Vatican model, as is the drapery flourish on the figure's right side. The position of the proper right arm is also derived from that source. Interestingly, the position of the left arm is the only part of the concept that deviates significantly from the model.

In the Vatican group, Algardi's Christ bows his head to receive the baptismal blessing and brings his arms into his body, reaching heavenward with his left hand. Such a gesture was repeated almost universally in baptismal groups crafted by other sculptors, many of whom had worked directly with Algardi, making it a central aspect of the interpretation. Therefore, the Weil example is unusual in



Fig. 51. Alessandro Algardi, Italian, 1598–1654; *Baptism of Christ*, 1644–45; terracotta; 19 3/16 × 18 13/16 in. (48.7 × 47.8 cm); Museo Sacro, Vatican Museums, Vatican City Inv. 2426

portraying the left arm pointed downward, emphasizing Christ's submission to the baptismal act and rendering him less animated. It seems that the artist who sculpted the Christ adapted



Fig. 52. Alessandro Algardi, Italian, 1598–1654; *Beheading of Saint Paul*, c. 1650; marble; height: 112 5/8 in. (286 cm); San Paolo Maggiore Church, Bologna

this arm from a different Algardi sculpture, the artist's very famous *Beheading of Saint Paul*, fashioned for Bologna Cathedral in the 1630s and 1640s (fig. 52).⁴ Saint Paul's bent left arm reaches across his torso in the same position as that of the Weil Christ. Therefore, this detail further supports a production by someone with access to models from the Algardi workshop.

It is evident that the sculpture is not the work of the master himself. Although the temperament of the sculpture is sophisticated and in keeping with Algardi's oeuvre, the execution is not that of Algardi or any of his known pupils. The right elbow is cursorily handled, whereas in the Vatican terracotta it is clearly defined and has believable structure. The left hand is also not well defined, and the face, although beautiful, does not appear autograph. The subject was ubiquitous, as stated above, and most every student of Algardi created such a group. But this terracotta does not seem to fit with any of their conceptions or styles.⁵ JWM

73

Italian, 16th century, Florence

Seated Saint John the Baptist, c. 1505–10

terracotta with paint

26 7/16 × 20 1/2 × 11 1/8 in. (67.2 × 52.1 × 28.3 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Dr. Emil W. Weinberger, until 1929; Ruth Blumka; her sale, Sotheby's New York, January 1996, Lot 90

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Mann 1931, 22; Sotheby's New York 1996, Lot 90, 110–111; Boucher in Houston-London 2001, 154–55, cat. 24

This sensitive representation of the youthful and earnest Saint John the Baptist testifies to the importance of terracotta in early sixteenth-century Florence. John was patron saint of the city, and images of him at various stages of his life—as an infant, a young adult beginning his life of withdrawal and self-examination, a mature preacher, and the baptizer of Christ—



were continually in demand. Authors have assigned the sculpture to a number of different artists and workshops, either in Venice or Florence, although all agree that the piece was produced in the early years of the sixteenth century. The young ascetic grasps his shell/dipper in his extended right hand while his left hand fingers the skin that he wears. This gesture should be seen as a response to Michelangelo's monumental *David*, put in place in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence in 1504. The emulation of the hand placement may have been intended as both an acknowledgment of the older artist's mastery and an announcement of the younger artist's own talent.

The attribution of the sculpture is a complicated question based on how one understands its relationship to a group of terracotta sculptures depicting Saint John, Saint Jerome, and the Old Testament figure of David.¹ Wilhelm Bode was the first to identify such a group by a single individual who worked in Florence in the early sixteenth century. Some writers dubbed him the "Master of the David and Saint John statuettes."² Scholars have made various proposals for this unnamed artist, but the most important among them for evaluating the Weil sculpture is that of Jacopo Sansovino, a sculptor of Florentine birth who worked in



Fig. 53. attributed to Sansovino (Jacopo Tatti), Italian, 1486–1570; *Seated Saint John the Baptist*; terracotta with traces of paint; $26 \frac{3}{4} \times 20 \frac{1}{16} \times 14 \frac{15}{16}$ in. (68 × 51 × 38 cm); Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



Fig. 54. attributed to Benedetto da Rovezzano, Italian, 1474–c. 1554; *Saint John the Baptist*; terracotta on original wood base; $29 \frac{1}{8} \times 17 \frac{5}{16}$ in. (74 × 44 cm); Private collection, London, formerly Bardini of Florence

Rome and finished his career in Venice where he moved in 1527. Bode first associated him with these works, and more recently Bruce Boucher argued persuasively that the finest of the group, a *Seated Saint John the Baptist* in the Bargello, Florence (fig. 53), is by his hand.³ It depicts a much more contemplative young man, who gazes heavenward as he gestures outwardly with his right hand. He does not hold a water vessel in reference to John's baptismal act, although there is water indicated in the rocky outcropping on which he sits. A second, obviously related version of the sculpture is now on the art market. It relates directly to the Weil terracotta since it duplicates the pose and the gestures of John's hands (fig. 54). This piece has been attributed to Benedetto da Rovezzano (1474–c. 1554), a Florentine contemporary of Michelangelo's who worked in a relatively conservative and summary style.⁴

The relationship of the three sculptures can be explained in part by the presumed existence of a popular model that was replicated when patrons requested a private devotional image of this most popular saint. Furthermore, the Bargello and market versions appear to be by the same hand.⁵ They share an elegance and refinement that is not found in the Weil sculpture. The Saint John from the Weil collection is a bit rougher in execution, the hair not as regularized and the shape of the head not as square. As a result, the Weil Saint John conveys an earnestness and immediacy that the other two lack. It may be that the market version was derived from the Weil version as it so closely follows the pose and composition, replacing John's attribute of the lamb with a tree root. Logic suggests the opposite since it is difficult to understand the composition as having originally been developed with the saint resting his arm on the diminutive lamb.⁶ It is possible that the version with the root came first, and the Weil sculpture was based on it. Given its expressive power, however, the Weil terracotta should be considered the work of a creative artist and not just a weaker copy. Bruce Boucher has argued that the Bargello and Weil versions are both by Sansovino. If he is correct, this suggests that the Weil Saint John was made first by a very young sculptor, and that both the Bargello and market examples were refinements made later.

One remarkable aspect of the figure is its nearly intact polychrome coating, an especially important feature since the two other versions of this piece retain very little of their original painted surface. Although technical analysis has not yet been performed in order to determine a date for the paint (this would not provide a guaranteed result, but should nonetheless be undertaken), the assumption here is that we are able to appreciate this sculpture with a finish that follows the original color scheme even if it partly includes later campaigns of paint. JWM



74

Italian, 16th century, Mantua or Padua

Bust of Pomona, c. 1500

terracotta with bronze-colored paint

13 3/8 × 15 1/2 × 8 7/16 in. (34 × 39.4 × 21.4 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Stefan Auspitz, Vienna; Oscar Bondi, Vienna; Albert Figdor, Vienna; Blumka Gallery, New York; Daniel Katz, Ltd., London

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Planiscig 1921, 155–57, figs. 166–67; Boucher in Houston-London 2001, 22–23, 284, cat. 65; Zock 2002, 27–33, cat. 5



75

Italian, 16th century, Mantua or Padua

Bust of an Emperor, c. 1500

terracotta with vestiges of bronze-colored paint

14 15/16 × 16 1/8 × 9 7/16 in. (37.9 × 41 × 24 cm)

marks and labels: on back of right shoulder, in red ink: "35.7.138"; underneath inscription, typed on a paper label: V.D. Spark/TR16085/84

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Victor D. Spark (1898–1991) according to label; Christie's Monaco, July 2–3, 1993, Lot 119; Sotheby's London July 9, 2004, Lot 32

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Planiscig 1921, 155–56; Christie's Monaco 1993, 84, Lot 119; Gentilini 1996, vol. 1, 29–46; Sotheby's London 2004a, 34–37, Lot 32



Fig. 55. Antonio Minello, Italian, c. 1465–c. 1529; *Bust of Mary Magdalene*; terracotta with paint; 22 1/4 × 20 1/16 in. (56.5 × 51 cm); Stephano Bardini Museum, Florence

Produced in a sculptural workshop in one of several cities in which the active study of antiquity had taken hold (mostly likely Padua or Mantua), these terracotta busts embody the humanist interest in the classical past that infused much of the art and literature produced in these cities during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The heads appear to be the work of a single sculptor. They were first published in the early twentieth century as works by Giovanni Minello (c. 1440–1526), but some scholars have since associated them with the work of Giovanni's son Antonio, and indeed there are similarities with the latter's work such as the slightly open mouth with pronounced wider openings at each side, the very square line of the jaw, and the distinctive curve of the upper line of the lips.² Although Antonio's extant work is predominantly executed in marble, documents indicate that a number of Venetian collectors owned terracotta works by his hand, thus maintaining the possibility of an attribution to Antonio. There is only one other terracotta head attributed to him, *Bust of Mary Magdalene* in the Stefano Bardini Museum in Florence (fig. 55). It bears little relationship to the Weil heads, however, since it is marked by much more softly defined features, heavy eyelids, and an overall demeanor that has little to do with the crispness of carving and the greater intensity of these two heads.³

Most recently, Giancarlo Gentilini contended that the *Bust of an Emperor* should be attributed to Andrea Briosco, known as Riccio (1470–1532), a renowned bronze sculptor and an artist fully steeped in the replication of antiquity. Gentilini argued that the sensibility of this sculpture is that of an artist who worked in bronze, and he associated this piece with several small bronze statuettes as well as a terracotta *Virgin and Child* in the Thyssen Collection.⁴ The author of the entry for the 2004 Sotheby's catalogue, however, noted how the manner in which the cavity has been carved out to prevent breakage during firing differs from Riccio's method of venting his terracottas from the top or the back.⁵ Mark Weil suggested that the bust may in fact reflect the taste of the Gonzaga court at Mantua, where Pier Jacopo di Antonio Alari-Bonacolsi, known as l'Antico (c. 1460–1528), had absorbed an erudite classicism based on his visits to Rome and his reworking of antique heads, a suggestion that also has merit.⁶ Further work is needed to cement the attribution of these fine busts, but to this author, the visual ties to the work of Andrea Mantegna, the leading artist at the Gonzaga court, make a strong case for exploring the association of these busts to Mantua.

The bust of the mythological Pomona portrays the Roman goddess of fruit and garden whose crown suggests her association with earthly abundance. The work was designed to look like bronze and can be appreciated in its original coloration. The existence of clay sculptures that

were coated to resemble bronze is well known and well documented in the Renaissance, but this example may be unique in that it retains much of its original surface material. Bronze was a favored medium in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but its high cost and technical complexities made the creation of large-scale works or images with intricate details prohibitively expensive and difficult to produce.⁷ In fact, few bronze busts of this scale were created in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century; the ones that survive typically measure less than nine inches high.⁸

The handsome terracotta *Bust of an Emperor* was also originally intended to look like bronze. Traces of dark paint and gilding, detectable along the edges of the neckline, indicate that the details of the armor were originally decorated with gold. Its subject and its apparent material, therefore, were steeped in the humanist ambience of the university-centered Padua or the Gonzaga court in Mantua during the first decades of the sixteenth century. This bust relates to such humanist manifestos as Mantegna's magisterial painted series, the *Triumph of Caesar*, an example of how the culture of antiquity inspired artists and patrons.

The emperor is less a model after an actual antiquity than it is a conception of an ideal Renaissance form. The subject, crowned with a laurel wreath, recalls a number of figures that populate Mantegna's painted narratives. Gentilini identified it as the emperor Augustus, although without specific attributes it is hard to assign a name.⁹ His armor is covered with a cloak held in place at the right shoulder by a decorative brooch or fibula. The patterns and textures of the cuirass and the cloth have been finely tooled in the wet clay, as have the individual leaves of the wreath that encircles his head, a traditional symbol of victory. The incised lines on the sleeves appear in a number of depictions of armored figures produced in Padua, including a figure clad in armor in Antonio Minello's sculpted relief depicting the *Investiture of Saint Anthony* in the Church of San Antonio, Padua, and in Riccio's bronze *Arione* in the Louvre.¹⁰

The busts may have been intended to form a pair, and may even have been part of a larger set of Roman historical and mythological figures. They were probably meant, as Gentilini has pointed out, to adorn a study or library, to sit among books, small bronzes, gems, and antique relics on a shelf or as architectural decoration.¹¹ Often, such portrait busts were located in niches above eye level, sometimes in circular openings that emulated the antique form of an image placed on a shield.

These heads were most likely created for the private enjoyment of an erudite collector. A number of such patrons are known, such as Andrea Odoni, a Venetian merchant who owned two examples of busts derived from the antique. Inventory records list an over-life-size head of Hercules and a similarly scaled head of Cybele "crowned with turrets."¹² It is easy to imagine that these busts could have been commissioned by Odoni or a member of his circle. Alison Luchs has posited that there were undoubtedly more examples of this type of sculpture in his collection although no document or reference has so far come to light. JWM



76

François Duquesnoy, Flemish (active Italy), c. 1594–1643

Bust of a Putto, c. 1629

bronze

11 3/8 × 10 × 6 1/2 in. (28.9 × 25.4 × 16.5 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: private collection, United Kingdom, until 2004; Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, New York, until 2005

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Planiscig 1924, 213–14, cat. 240; Krahn in Berger and Krahn 1994, 143–46, cats. 104, 105; Bode and Krahn 1995, 488–89, cat. 179; Rome 2000, vol. 2, 399–401

No subject is more closely aligned with the name François Duquesnoy than the putto. Duquesnoy's seventeenth-century biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, related how in 1625–26, the sculptor repeatedly visited the Villa Ludovisi in Rome in order to study the painted putti that Titian (1485–90?–1576) included in his *Worship of Venus*.¹ The sculpture theorist Orfeo Boselli (who had studied with Duquesnoy) credited his teacher with mastering the depiction of the infant form, noting that he “became so excellent that subsequently everybody imitated his style, so much so that he [may be said to have] enriched our age with a great number of [putti].”² The artist's sculpted putti adorn tombs and reliefs throughout the city of Rome, and the marble sculpture of a standing cupid now in the Bode-Museum, Berlin (fig. 56), exemplifies their inherent charm. It is from this piece that Duquesnoy derived this beautiful bronze.

The existence of the present head testifies to the popularity of this subject in Duquesnoy's work. The artist's earliest masterpiece, the full figure of Saint Susanna sculpted for the Roman church dedicated to her, also inspired a bronze bust, of which three examples are known today.³ Although Estelle Lingo believes that Duquesnoy may have cast the Saint Susanna heads himself, it is not clear whether the artist made the models for the putti, or whether the casting was done by him or under his supervision.⁴ Three additional versions of the putto head have been identified, one in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and two others in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany.⁵ The best of them is one of the two Braunschweig busts. In comparison, the Weil head comes extremely close in quality, in spite of a repair at the right temple.



Fig. 56. François Duquesnoy, Flemish (active Italy), c. 1594–1643; *Cupid Carving His Bow*, 1629; marble; height: 29 3/4 in. (75.6 cm); Bode-Museum, Berlin Inv. 540

The beauty of the head derives in part from the supple modulations of the surface as well as the endearing profile and charming proportions. Boselli's praise for the sculpture was based, in part, on these proportions.⁶ Noteworthy as well is the fine chisel work that defines the eyes, ears, and strands of hair. The Weil bust displays a much more complex treatment of the hair at the back of the head, indicating that a lot of time was expended on the finishing of the piece, which may mean it was intended for a discerning Roman collector. JWM



Head of a Young Woman, 1620s(?)

terracotta

12 1/4 × 7 × 8 13/16 in. (31.1 × 17.8 × 22.4 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Evan Gorga, Rome by 1911 (d. 1957); Trinity Fine Art, New York, until 1995

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Guida Generale 1911, 137; Brinckmann 1923–24, vol. 2, 48–53, pl. 24; Brauer and Wittkower 1931, 1:134; Wittkower 1955, 219; Lavin 1955, 135–36; Wittkower 1966, 234–35, cat. 60; Wittkower 1981, 235; Schlegel 1985, 127; Trinity Fine Art 1995, 206–7, cat. 110 as Giorgietti; Bacchi and Zanuso 1996, 808; Wittkower 1997, 278; Ferrari and Papaldo 1999, 157; Tiberia 2000, 34–35; Dickerson 2006, 363–80; Giometti 2011, 57; Dickerson in New York-Fort Worth 2012, 22–23, 37–74, n. 74; Weil 2015, 437–444; Dickerson and Sigel 2016, 190–203

This expressive head was most likely created in Rome during the first half of the seventeenth century. Its author, subject, purpose, and exact date, however, remain the subject of dispute among scholars of baroque sculpture. When it first appeared in an exhibition at the Castel Sant'Angelo in 1911, it was identified as “una berniniana,” and was linked to Gianlorenzo Bernini's figure of *Truth*, produced between 1645 and 1652.¹ Two decades later, when it was included in a volume devoted to terracotta studies for Roman baroque sculpture, the German art historian and early student of the baroque A. E. Brinckmann attributed it to the master himself, confirming its relationship to Bernini's marble figure of *Truth*.² Rudolf Wittkower, the true father of Bernini studies, also deemed it a work by the master's hand, but associated it with a later project carried out by the studio based on Bernini's designs, the *Saint Barbara* in the eponymous chapel in Rieti Cathedral, dated 1655–57.³ In 2000, Vitaliano Tiberia also accepted the Bernini attribution, but identified the head as a preparatory study for the early *Saint Bibiana*, dated to 1624–36 (see cat. 28).⁴ More recently, after extended scientific and art historical analysis, scholars have argued that the head does not conform to the manner in which Bernini worked. In 2012, Jennifer Montagu and C. D. Dickerson revived an earlier attribution to Antonio Giorgetti (c. 1635–1669), a Bernini student.⁵ Dickerson and Anthony Sigel most recently published an extended discussion of the head, arguing against a Bernini attribution on technical grounds and further supporting Giorgetti as its creator.⁶

The sculpture presents several fascinating possibilities. It was unquestionably used as a model for one of Giorgetti's most engaging commissions, one of two angels holding a variegated altar cloth that serves as the rail for the Spada Chapel in San Girolamo della Carità in Rome (fig. 57; angel on the right). The obvious relationship between the completed alabaster figure and the Weil head led Montagu and Dickerson to argue that the terracotta was conceived and executed by Giorgetti as part of that commission. To the present author, however, such an assumption does not make sense. When the right angel is viewed in the church in relation to the angel on the left, the angle of its head seems out of place. Its upward and generalized gaze does not pair well with the directed looking of the left-hand angel. In fact, since the full *bozzetto* (model) for the right angel has been preserved at the Bode-Museum

in Berlin (fig. 58), we can see that Giorgetti's original idea did not use a raised chin or a head angled heavenward, but seems to have echoed the outward-directed position of the left-hand angel. Although it is hard to dispute the relationship of the bust to the Giorgetti angel, it is also difficult to see the head as part of the original conception for the San Girolamo project. It makes better sense to understand the head simply as inspiration for Giorgetti's finished sculpture, but not as his idea. In fact, when one encounters the head, it seems to convey the ecstatic experience of a holy person rather than the beatific expression associated with an angel.⁷ Giorgetti often used heads by other artists as models for his own work, as Dickerson himself points out.⁸ The awkwardness of the angel head in the context of the Spada Chapel altar rail rules out, in this author's opinion, assigning authorship to Giorgetti. Rather, it seems that the head must have been available to Giorgetti who found it a suitable model when he was completing the Spada commission.

The question of the head's authorship remains open, as does its relationship to several works by Bernini. Wittkower's original observation that the head was used in designing the Saint Barbara in Rieti has some merit. A visit to Rieti in May 2016 confirmed such a possibility, and we know from documents that Bernini was contracted to supply designs and models for that commission.⁹ So, for the moment, we can assert that the terracotta inspired Giorgetti's design for the Spada Chapel rail, that it may have been used in Bernini's workshop at the end of the 1650s, and that it seems to be related to several other key pieces that Bernini worked on between the mid-1620s and 1660. Ongoing research will hopefully clarify some of the issues, perhaps expanding the search to the circle around artists such as Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654).¹⁰ JWM



Fig. 57. Interior of the Spada Chapel with Balustrade by Antonio Giorgetti, Italian, c. 1635–1669; c. 1657; San Girolamo della Carità, Rome



Fig. 58. Antonio Giorgetti, Italian, c. 1635–1669; *Model for one of two alabaster angels for the balustrade of the Spada Chapel, San Girolamo della Carità, Rome, c. 1657–60; terracotta; 13 3/4 x 7 7/8 x 7 7/8 in. (35 x 20 x 20 cm); Bode-Museum, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen, Berlin*

Bust of a Prophet or Mythological Figure, c. 1700–1705

terracotta

21 1/8 × 13 × 11 1/4 in. (53.7 × 33 × 28.6 cm)

Collection of Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: private collection, Florence, until 2010; Andrew Butterfield Fine Art, New York

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Butterfield and Moretti 2010, 94–104

This monumental terracotta bust, probably depicting an Old Testament prophet or a mythological figure, demonstrates a mastery of the material as well as a sophisticated and engaging conception of an animated elder. It was probably made in Rome during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, although the identity of its maker has not been secured. The sculpture raises interesting issues for our understanding of eighteenth-century artistic production.

Tomaso Montanari made a compelling case for attributing the sculpture to Pierre LeGros the Younger (1666–1719), the most important sculptor working in Rome in the early eighteenth century.¹ Having established himself unusually quickly on the Roman art scene through his masterful *Religion Overthrowing Heresy* (1695) in the Church of the Gesù, the French-born LeGros continued to contribute to major sculptural programs that adorned some of the city's most significant spaces. His monumental figures of *Saint Thomas* and *Saint Bartholomew* stand out as two of the most commanding among the twelve apostles in the nave of San Giovanni Laterano and are the works that most firmly established his reputation for engaging and technically accomplished statuary.

Montanari linked this bust to several of LeGros's Roman works. Most compelling is the association of the expressivity of the face and pose with the profile of Hatred in the Gesù group. Both works share the forceful brow and eyes, as well as the open-mouthed expression. The bust also comes close to the spirited intensity of the Lateran *Saint Thomas*. The saint's heavy eyebrows, slightly parted lips, and unruly hair and beard match the intensity and power of the Weil head.

However, although the bust approaches the expressive power of some of LeGros's Roman works, the handling of the clay itself does not conform to the extant terracottas that are associated with LeGros.² On the Weil head, the clay has been manipulated in such a way that strands of hair are not isolated from the mass of hair, and the strokes that define the hair are broad. If we look at the terracotta *bozzetto* (model) that LeGros made for his Lateran *Saint Thomas*, now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 59), we can see how the passion of the subject is conveyed through disheveled hair that is defined in separate groupings; spaces are introduced to vary the light and shadow on his head and



Fig. 59. Pierre LeGros the Younger, France (active Italy), 1666–1719; *Saint Thomas*, 1703–4; terracotta; 27 × 22 × 12 in. (68.6 × 55.9 × 30.5 cm); Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Purchased with funds provided by William Randolph Hearst by exchange, The Ahmanson Foundation, Chandis Securities Company, B. Gerald Cantor, Camilla Chandler Frost, Anna Bing Arnold, an anonymous donor, and Duveen Brothers, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Sicard, Colonel and Mrs. George J. Dennis, and Julia Off by exchange (84.1)

in his beard.³ This is a very different approach to the handling of clay from that represented in the present bust. The subject and purpose of the sculpture have yet to be established. The full head of thick hair and extremely long beard, in combination with the animated expression, conform more closely to the iconography of Old Testament figures than saints or apostles. The treatment of the hair also suggests that it is intended to be understood as wet, thus introducing the possibility that the bust represents the god Neptune overseeing his domain.

The handling of the terracotta is masterful; evidence of tool work abounds along with the imprint of the sculptor's fingers as he manipulated the hair and beard. Yet the bust presents as a very finished work. It is tantalizing to think, as Montanari has already suggested in arguing for a LeGros attribution, that this sculpture was intended as a piece for a private collector, rather than made in preparation for a sculpture in marble or bronze.⁴ The somewhat unfinished handling of the back of the head may argue against such a theory, or simply indicate that the bust was intended to be seen in a niche or against a wall and not fully in the round. JWM





79

workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, Italian, active c. 1496–c. 1543

Boy with Raised Arm, c. 1500

bronze

6 7/8 × 2 3/4 × 1 7/8 in. (17.5 × 7 × 4.8 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Wilhelm Henrich, Frankfurt, Michael and Doris Zagyski; their sale, Sotheby's New York, June 29, 1995, Lot 169; private collection; Andrew Butterfield Fine Art, New York, 2007

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Sotheby's New York 1995, Lot 169

Padua's humanist culture and strong bronze-casting tradition established by Donatello (c. 1386–1466) in the mid-fifteenth century made it a center for the production of creative and lively bronze figures during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As already discussed in the entry on the *Kneeling Satyr* (cat. 14), Severo Calzetta da Ravenna was one of the most admired bronze casters of the time and ran a large and productive Paduan workshop. Although his reputation was known in the early twentieth century, scholars did not identify specific examples until 1935, when the Viennese art historian Leo Planiscig discovered Severo's signature on a small bronze sea monster now in The Frick Collection.¹ A later identification of an additional signature on a bronze statuette helped flesh out Severo's oeuvre, leading scholars to recognize that he ran a sizable workshop with assistants who produced a range of small sculptures. Famous for his sea monsters and satyr figures, he is also recognized as the designer of spirited statuettes that replicated the dynamism of antique examples.² The 2016 Pergamon exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art featured a number of very animated small bronzes from the Hellenistic period, underscoring how closely Severo and other Paduan artists emulated the spirit of those works, capturing their inherent dynamism and exuberance.

The attribution of the Weil *Boy with Raised Arm* to Severo's workshop can be established with certainty. In 2006, Met conservator Richard Stone identified key elements that secured the assignment of bronzes to Severo's workshop.³ These bronzes were cast indirectly, a method that allowed a model to be reused. Stone outlined the full procedure, too complicated for summation here. His important work found that in all of the bronze nude figures that can be traced with certainty to Severo's workshop, there are two square plugs just above the buttocks, and a hole located somewhere in the head. The Weil bronze exhibits these features. The square plugs can be seen in x-rays made in the Museum's objects conservation lab in preparation for this exhibition; the round plug in the hole at the crown of the head is visible to the naked eye.

The *Boy with Raised Arm* is a unique composition, as is true of many of the known examples assigned to the Severo workshop. The pose undoubtedly derives from an antique type, although no specific ancient prototype has been identified. Examples of Bacchus and the drunken Hercules include an extended arm, a gesture that is also related to statues of pugilists who raise their arms as they prepare for competition.⁴ This figure may have originally held an attribute in his raised right hand. Hopefully, further research will reveal a proper identification. JWM



80

after Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680
Italian, 17th century, Rome

Bust of Paolo Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, 1670s(?)

bronze

6 1/2 x 6 x 2 3/4 in. (16.5 x 15.2 x 7 cm)

Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil

PROVENANCE: Sotheby's London, July 12, 1979, Lot 184; British Rail Pension Fund, until 1996

PUBLICATION HISTORY: Radcliffe in London 1979, 32; Sotheby's London 1979, 90–91, Lot 184; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1984, 159–60; Sotheby's London 1996, 82–83, Lot 40

This handsome, if diminutive, bust represents one of the most flamboyant personalities of seventeenth-century Rome. Paolo Giordano II Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (1591–1656), was raised in Florence where he became a connoisseur of theater, music, and the visual arts.¹ In Rome, he befriended prominent artists, including the sculptor Bernini.

The Weil bronze shows the duke's famous tousled hair, a fashion popular in the 1620s. He wears a fitted cuirass, with scale armor, the term describing its coin-shaped decoration that does not, however, hide his nipples or the musculature of his torso. Its medallion bears a Medusa head, perhaps a commentary on the "snaky" strands of his hair.² His shoulder adornments sport a popular mannerist motif, two stylized and exaggerated lion heads.

In 1623, Bernini fashioned a portrait of the duke, probably in wax, which was later translated into bronze.³ Although Anthony Radcliffe assumed that the bust was life-size and now lost, Rudolf Wittkower argued that, based on the low compensation given to the bronze-caster, the bust must have been quite small.⁴ In 1984, citing an unpublished conference paper by Gisela Rubsamen, James Draper noted that the original bust may indeed have been life-size, weighing nearly a hundred pounds.⁵ The documents state that two or three wax castings were to be made from Bernini's model to test the mold, and we can assume that they were of a reduced dimension. Three such bronzes exist today—the Weil bust, one at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and another in the City Art Gallery in Plymouth, England.

In writing on the Met bust, Draper also cited Rubsamen's discovery of an engraving of the bust with a notation that it was made by an Augsburg sculptor working in Rome, Johann Jakob Kornmann (active 1620–after 1672). Draper concluded, therefore, that probably all three versions should be ascribed to Kornmann. After examining the bronze at the Metropolitan, it seems unlikely that it and the Weil bust could have been cast in the same foundry since the Kornmann is considerably thicker.⁶ They were certainly not finished by the same hand. The Met bust demonstrates the sensibilities of an Augsburg goldsmith. The facial features and hair have been very finely chased, and the care taken in the gilding and silvering of the cuirass with its crisp edging and well-defined Gorgon head is painstaking and precise. The Weil bust is a freer and more expressive work, with costume details that bear closer analogies to actual armor and fabric.⁷ It seems possible that both versions could have been made from the models that were created in Bernini's workshop in the early seventeenth century.

There remains the question as to whether the Weil bronze was done by the same artist who created the Plymouth version. On the basis of poor photographs, it seems that the Plymouth bust should be considered a composite of the Met and Weil versions. It combines the shoulder motif and neckline used in the Kornmann with the scale armor from the Weil.⁸ Radcliffe attributed the Plymouth bust to Bernardino Danese, a bronze founder who worked for Bernini in the 1670s, whose name is included in an inscription on a base added to the bottom of the sculpture.⁹ Radcliffe concluded that the Weil bust (on view at the Victoria and Albert Museum when he wrote his catalogue) was Danese's work as well, although it is difficult to evaluate this assertion without firsthand examination. It seems possible that all three were created around the same time, although the precise relationships are not evident at this writing. JWM

Notes to Catalogue Entries

Cat. 1

- Howard 1991, 204, who noted that this was a type devised by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. It was also used to support many antique busts when they were restored.
- Christie's London 2012, Lot 171.
- It is now in the Museo Nazionale. On Albacini's restoration, see De Franciscis 1946, XIX, 96–110.
- See Bartman 2003, 119–23, for a good indication of how pieced together some sculptures could be.
- The dispersal of Cavaceppi's collection was the subject of great controversy and extended litigation. See Davies 1991, 145–65. Albacini inherited some of Cavaceppi's holdings, which he left to his son Filippo, who sold 225 casts to the Edinburgh Academy in 1838; 154 are known today.
- On the pair, see de Kersaunon 1996, 272, cat. 122, for the Lucius Verus; 236, cat. 104, for the Marcus Aurelius.
- My thanks to Dr. Bartman who has been exceedingly generous with her time and expertise, which she shared in a personal communication in September 2016.
- Dr. Loffredo kindly shared this opinion with me on a site visit, August 30, 2016.

Cats. 2, 3

- For a discussion of the full range of the literature, see Zdanski 1992.
- Campagnola's technique differs from works made with the goldsmith's punch, see cat. 40; Landau and Parshall 1994, 261–64.
- Giorgione, *Il Tramonto*, 1506–10, oil on canvas, London: National Gallery, NG6307.
- Washington 1973, 393, 410–13; London 1983, cat. P6.
- See Emission 1977; and Washington 1988.

Cat. 4

- A distinguished English translation of the first section of *The Inferno* is Dante (1320) 2003.
- Cohen 2008, 177.
- Dunlop 1993, 29.
- Gilson 2005, 164–93; Parker 1993, 94; Dunlop 1993, 33–4.
- Dunlop 1993, 35; Carrington 1920, 373. Some copies of the book include just the first two engravings, with no further illustrations.
- Landau and Parshall 1994, 72; Zucker 1990, 22. The verso shows the collector's marks of Valentin Weisbach, William Sharp, and Albert W. Blum.
- Berlin-Rome-London 2000.
- Genette (1972) 1980, 188–89.

Cat. 5

- See Washington 1973, 81–157; Mark Zucker in TIB, vol. 24, Commentary, Part 3, 4–5; Chicago 2011, 34–37. The engravings have also been erroneously attributed to Andrea Mantegna. A standard tarot deck contains seventy-eight cards.
- Washington 1973; Masi 1974; Zucker in TIB, vol. 24, Commentary, Part 3, 1.
- The traditional liberal arts included grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music. See Washington 1973, 114, where it is noted that the Renaissance saw more flexibility about what was included in the liberal arts.
- Masi 1974, 75.
- Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 31:1938.

Cat. 6

- See cats. 42–44 for the controversy surrounding Mantegna and printmaking; David Landau, in London-New York 1992, 52–54, argues that Giovanni Antonio worked with Mantegna, probably during the 1490s, and that he made copies of his own engravings after Mantegna when he left Mantua; Suzanne Boorsch in *ibid.*, 57–62, instead argues that an unidentified engraver she christens the “Premier Engraver” worked with Mantegna and made the first versions of the prints most closely associated with Mantegna, and that although Giovanni Antonio may (or may not) have visited Mantua briefly, his Mantegnesque prints were simply engraved copies of the Premier Engraver's plates.
- Washington 1973, 236.
- Pope Innocent VIII invited Mantegna to Rome in 1488; see Kristeller 1901, 510–13, docs. 43, 44; Lightbown 1986, 155–58, cat. 29; 433–35.
- Judith and Holofernes*, Saint Louis Art Museum, Friends Fund and funds given in honor of Betty Greenfield Grossman 2:1982.
- Sbriccoli 2005, 37.
- Ibid.*, 50.
- Katzenellenbogen 1989, see 34, 45, 49, and 55 for Justice shown with various tools of measurement.
- With thanks to Irina Oryshkevich for her suggestions on the possible interpretations of the Latin inscription.

Cat. 7

- Suzanne Boorsch discussed the different states of each print in London-New York 1992, 456. She argues that *Virtus Deserta* exists in two states, this example being the first of two, while *Virtus Combusta* may possibly also be two states. See also Paris 2008, 348.
- See Paris 2008, 348–349. The print has been alternately attributed to Giovanni Antonio da Brescia and Zoan Andrea. For more on the issues of attribution, see cats. 42–44 on Mantegna, and cat. 6 for more on Giovanni Antonio. The British Museum indicates that a strip of glued paper at the bottom of the *Virtus Combusta* drawing suggests that a drawing of the *Virtus Deserta* may have once been attached.
- For a discussion of Mantegna's interest in this theme, see Paris 2008, 346.
- Manca 2006, 157. See also Massing 1990, 180–84; and Washington 1973, 226.
- Furlotti and Rebecchini 2008, 95–99. Her design was based largely on the decoration of her uncle's *studiolo* in Ferrara.
- For a summary of the figures see Paris 2008, 346. Keith Christiansen suggests that Isabella's advisers laid out the decorative scheme, but Mantegna also likely had some freedom in designing the paintings. See London-New York 1992, 423. For a more thorough analysis of the painting and its readings, see Campbell 2004, 145–68.
- See London-New York 1992, 429–30.
- The attributions of each figure vary from scholar to scholar, with the most generally accepted work coming from Förster 1901, Panofsky 1956, and Dwyer 1970–71, whereas Massing 1990 has emphasized an allegorical reading of the print. See Washington 1973, 226–27, cat. 7; and London-New York 1992, 453–55, for summaries of the various interpretations.
- See Even 1997, 152.
- Washington 1973, 222, 226.

Cat. 8

- For a thorough account of the drawing's historiography see New York 2003, cat. 67; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 6, 256, first made the connection between drawing and print.
- Hancock 1988, 15.
- New York 2003, cat. 67, note 11; Richter (1883) 1970, cat. 1254.
- Dupré 2005, 211–36.
- Ibid.*, 227, note 38, with further sources.
- Lippincott 1981, 77, cat. 334.
- Popp 1928, no. 21; Washington 1973, 438.
- Perfetti 2007, 147–64; Evans 1941, 393–96.
- See Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, cat. 2, for an attribution history, including Giulio Campagnola; Galichon 1865, 546–52, was the first to associate four prints by the same hand.

Cat. 9

- See Baillie-Grohman 1925, 32, for reference to the low percentage of dogs that return unharmed from a dangerous hunt.
- The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries: Boar and Bear Hunt*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.204:1957; *The Unicorn Tapestries*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 37.80.1–6; on *The Unicorn Tapestries*, see Cavallo 1998; another set of early sixteenth-century tapestries also includes a bear hunt: McMahon 1934, 24–25.
- For literature on the hunt in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see Salisbury 1994, 43–76; Smets and van den Abeele 2007, 59–79; Baillie-Grohman 1925, chapters 2–7.
- Baillie-Grohman 1925, 32.
- The platter is noted in Falke 1894, 43.

Cat. 10

- The literature is summed up in Boorsch and Lewis 1985, cat. 28; and Bellini 1998, cat. 41. The predominant studies of the print are: Disertori 1926, 258–65; Robert Klein, cited in Zerner 1962, 76; Albricci 1983, 215–22; Tomory 1992, 165–75; Salsi 1993, 3–10, 13; see Durham 2006, cat. 46.
- Most scholars illustrate a drawing that shows the figure's arm extended; probably after Raphael, Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, see Boorsch and Lewis 1985, 119, fig. 51; Albricci 1983, 221, and Bellini 1998, 184–85.
- Virgil, *Aeneid* VI.617 and .95.
- See Klein in Zerner 1962, 76.
- Cited in Boorsch and Lewis 1985, 117.
- Ibid.*, cat. 28; Bellini 1998, no. 41; see also Rouillard 1986, 45–57.
- See Leuven-Paris 2013, 125–37.
- Tomory 1992, argues extensively, among other less convincing points, that Ghisi's source material was eclectic due to his travels; the plate's publication history is entirely in northern Europe, which also argues for Ghisi's having engraved it in Paris.
- Heineken 1787–90, vol. 4, 527; Toccaceli 2005, 89–90, suggests he was a Florentine; see Durham 2006, 74–75, where Patricia Emission posits that the elaborate allegory may have been intended to obscure the true nature of the commissioner's intentions. One question that receives little attention is whether *datus* might be read as a verb rather than a surname.
- Jean de Gourmont II, Paris; Harman Adolfsz, Haarlem; Joan Meyssens, Antwerp; and Joannes Galle, Antwerp.

Cat. 11

1. To date, the classic study of wild men in medieval northern folklore remains Bernheimer 1952. For a thoroughgoing examination of the wild man as an artistic motif, see also New York 1980.
2. This is not the first time the landscape's sentient qualities have been observed. See for example Boston 1971, cat. 194.
3. This illustration is found on folio 17r of the *Prayerbook* manuscript preserved in the Munich Staatsbibliothek. See the complete facsimile edition of this manuscript illustrated in Strauss 1974; for this sheet, including descriptive notes, see 33.
4. By the ninth century, the story of the unicorn tamed by the maiden had become a metaphor for the Incarnation, an interpretation that entered Western Christianity through Latin translations of the *Physiologus*. Not all versions of this popular text, which formed the model for medieval bestiaries, insisted on such pure associations. An older Syriac manuscript discussed by Odell Shepard retains an explicitly carnal charge, while in another well-known Provençal manuscript, the unicorn is identified not with Christ, but with the devil. On the cultural history of the unicorn see Shepard 1930, which remains the classic study of the subject; on the tale of the unicorn and the maiden, see especially chap. 2. On depictions of the unicorn in medieval and Renaissance art, see also Freeman 1976, 11–65 and Cavallo 1998, 19–27.
5. Erwin Panofsky has put forth the most enduring argument that the etching depicts the rape of Proserpina. Jessie Poesch developed the thesis, first touched upon by Heinrich Wölfflin but unelaborated, that the Witch of Berkeley may have been the primary visual source of inspiration. See Panofsky 1939, 85; Panofsky (1955) 1971, 196–97; and Poesch 1964, 78–82. The woodcut illustrating the Witch of Berkeley's abduction is found on folio CLXXXIX of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.
6. Albrecht Dürer, *Abduction on Horseback*, 1516, Morgan Library, New York, I, 257a.
7. The bodies being trampled underfoot in the drawing prompted Hans Tietze and Erika-Tietze Conrat to consider whether Dürer had in mind the battle scenes so often depicted in relief on ancient Roman sarcophagi. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937, 120–21.

Cat. 12

1. There is a grouping of mythological figures that includes the two centaur prints; see TIB, vol. 25, nos. 16 and 19.
2. Gabbard 1978; Woodring 2007, 4–12; Zirpolo 1991–92, 24–28; Cuttler 1991, 161–79; Barolsky 1998, 451–74; South Hadley 1977, cat. 29.
3. Borenus 1909.
4. *Ibid.*, 6.
5. Mark Zucker in TIB, vol. 25, Commentary, 385, notes that this engraving, one of six copies after Dürer, had a lasting effect on Montagna's engravings; see also Washington 1973, and Lambert 1999.

Cat. 13

1. Henig 1997, 23.
2. For the Walters bronze, see Bowron 1978.
3. For the Met version, see Metropolitan Museum of Art 1984, 145. For the Louvre piece, see Jestaz 1975, 161. A third related piece is in the Wallace Collection, London, with differently shaped horns and a variant position on the stump. See Mann 1931, 29, cat. S. 68, plate 21.

Cat. 14

1. Sotheby's London 2004b, 34, Lot 17, where the author of the entry identified a version very close to this, formerly in the Adda collection. See Avery and Radcliffe 1983, fig. 9, 114. A very close example from the Kress Collection is attributed to Riccio in Pope-Hennessy 1965, 128, cat. 473, fig. 486. From the photograph, it seems like a Severo to me, but I have not seen that example firsthand. The model is extremely close, although the chasing was done much more finely. Nonetheless, it is hard to see them as coming from different workshops.
2. See cat. 79, note 3, for information on this technique.
3. Sotheby's London 2004b, 34, Lot 17.

Cat. 15

1. I would like to acknowledge the work of Brigid Gerstenecker, who took exceptional ownership of her research on this drawing during her summer internship at the Museum.
2. A renowned red marble statue of a faun—a follower of Faunus, the Roman counterpart of Pan—in the Capitoline Museum in Rome also has human legs, wears a goatskin, and has panpipes on its support, and a tuft of a tail on its lower back; the ancient core of this sculpture, however, was reconstructed not long after it was discovered in 1736, so most of these characteristics were defined by the eighteenth-century sculptor who restored it, see Ramage 2002, 61–77.
3. Moltesen 2002, 200, cat. 57; Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010, 119, cat. 71.
4. See Christian 2012, 129–56.
5. Moltesen 2002, 207–24.
6. A similar delicacy combined with a similar handling of the contours of the figure is apparent in a drawing after Michelangelo's *Aurora* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, which has also been attributed to Passarrotti, but similarly without certainty; see St. Louis 1989, 9 and 17.
7. Lugt 2092 (Peter Lely) and Lugt 2184 (Jonathan Richardson Sr.).
8. Richardson 1722, preface, unpaginated; A3 verso.
9. *Ibid.*, 283.

Cat. 16

1. See Lambert 1999, 332. See also Washington 1973, 388; and Mark J. Zucker in TIB, vol. 25, Commentary, 63.
2. See van der Sman 2013, 169, who notes these sorts of minor changes were common in Mocetto's prints after other artists' designs.
3. See Rosand 1990, 63–69.
4. Questions have been raised as to whether Apelles's painting existed. See Cast 1981, 10.
5. Alberti's translation was likely based on Guarino's. See Rosand 1990, 63.
6. Lucian (c. 120–200) 1913, 363, n. 1. See Altrocchi 1921, 456.
7. Paris 2008, 350.
8. Lucian (c. 120–200) 1913, 363, n. 1.
9. Massing 1990, 48; Cast 1981, 59–60.

10. This includes works by Jörg Breu, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Lambert Lombard, and Rembrandt. See Paris 2008, 350.

11. Lambert 1999, 342–43.

12. French and Netherlandish artists and artisans including Master K.I.P., Antoine Caron, and the aforementioned Lambert Lombard seem to have been introduced to Mantegna's design through Mocetto's print. See Massing 1990, 50.

13. See Royalton-Kisch 2010, cat. 46.

Cat. 17

1. According to the narrative, the pair traveled to Tauris to steal the statue of Artemis and return it to Greece. Taurians traditionally sacrificed any foreigners who came to their island.
2. *Iphigenia in Tauris* was part of a larger series of stories about the family of Agamemnon, and was one of the most widely reproduced classical myths in visual art, theater, and ritual. See Morford and Lenardon 1999, 317–28.
3. See Hall 2013, xx, for the timeline of publications and translations.
4. See Di Maria 2002, and Di Maria 1996, who points out that Rucellai dedicated considerably more time to passages involving Orestes and Pylades than in Euripides's original.
5. Hall suggests that Veneziano's engraving was actually inspired by Rucellai's play, hence the fortified walls of the temple. Di Maria lends credence to this theory, stating that Rucellai often included scenery in his plays that were clearly intended to be Renaissance fortresses. See Hall 2013, 163; Di Maria 2002, 46. For the importance of the themes of virtue, friendship, and self-sacrifice in the Renaissance, see the introduction by Glenn W. Most and Mark Griffith in Euripides (c. 414–12 BCE) 2013, 5.
6. Veneziano worked alongside Marcantonio and Marco Dente in Rome making designs after Raphael, as well as with Baccio Bandinelli in Florence. He also made engravings after Giulio Campagnola and Albrecht Dürer.
7. See TIB, vol. 26 (The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School, no. 194) for the design attribution to Bandinelli.

Cat. 18

1. See Paris 2000, 36–37, for a discussion of the variations as well as a listing of eighteen versions. For a full discussion of the Dresden cast, its history, and its meaning, see Ebert-Schifferer 2006, 18–25, who offered a Renaissance humanist reading of the sculpture's meaning based on Aristotle's *Natural Philosophy*.
2. The Dresden cast (inv. no. Nr. IX 34) is generally acknowledged to be the highest quality example among the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century versions. Its Venus has a lustrous golden finish, whereas the satyr's patina is darker and slightly more opaque. Close in quality is the cast in the Boijmans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, with a darker reddish brown patina.
3. Christie's London 1989, 50, Lot 108.
4. Private communication to Mark Weil on February 8, 1993.
5. Paris 2000, 22. See pages 22–23 for illustrations of other motifs.
6. The poem was probably written by a Venetian friar, Francesco Colonna. It has been translated into English. See Colonna (1499) 1999.
7. On the sculpture in the Renaissance, see Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010, 113–14, cat. 79. For its varying identification as a Cleopatra, see Haskell and Penny 1981, 185–87.

Cats. 19, 20, 21, 22

1. Dante (1320) 2000, 579.
2. Landau and Parshall 1994, 162–63; TIB, vol. 24, Commentary, part 2, 165–67.
3. A number of the tortures depicted in the print are related in Dante, but not all.
4. For Cort's engraving, see New Hollstein (Cort, 53–56), including three separate, nearly identical engravings by Cort, along with six copies by others. For more on Cort, see Rotterdam 1994, and New Hollstein (Cort); and for a discussion of his relationships with artists and publishers in Italy, see van der Sman 2005, 251–64.
5. Bury 2001, 74; Körte 1932, 522–29; Gere 1966, reviewed by Vitzthum 1966, 312–13; Mundy and Ourusoff De Fernandez-Gimenez 1989, cat. 62; Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, 255–58; Sant'Angelo 2010, 77–78, 194–200.
6. For more on the prolific multigenerational Sadeler printmaking and publishing family, see Limouze 1989 and 1990; Sénéchal 1987.
7. Morrona (1792) 1812; also Lasinio 1812, by the artist and then keeper of the Camposanto. Morrona owned the plate, which had a representation of Saint Jerome on the verso; see TIB, vol. 24, Commentary, part 2, 165–67, who notes the plate was in a sale as recently as 1890.
8. The watermark is similar to Heawood 2969A, dated to 1694, Paris.
9. Buccheri 2014, 89, 106.
10. Weil 1974, 218–48.
11. This is not to say that Goltzius produced no "Catholic" prints, but in 1593–94 when he engraved a series of images from the life of the Virgin, he made sure that they were acceptable to a Protestant as well as a Catholic audience; see Auerbach 2009, 266–67.

Cats. 23a–b

1. Warsaw 1990, 318–20.
2. Diemer 2004, 2, 181.
3. D'Agostino 2011, 151–53, 353–58, no. A.11.
4. See, for instance, La Corte Cailler 1900, 496–509; D'Addosio 1920, 169; Frangipane 1920, 133–36; Pisani 2009. For a full account of all the documents, see D'Agostino 2011, 353–58.
5. Pisani 2009, 145–57.
6. Agosti 2002, 147–61.
7. Panarello 2012, 197–250.

Cat. 24

1. Baroni 1875, lxxiv, as cited by Radcliffe in Radcliffe, Baker, and Maek-Gérard 1992, 67, n. 11.
2. See Radke 1992, 217, n. 2, who listed them.
3. Pit 1912, 43, was the first to propose this.
4. Radcliffe in Radcliffe, Baker, and Maek-Gérard 1992, 65, n. 5.
5. In 1934, when the piece was displayed at the Stedelijk Museum. See Amsterdam 1934 where it was catalogued as a copy.
6. Radke 1992, 221, maintained that the marbles "are demonstrably superior to their models." Dussler 1924, 22, argued that Benedetto was an advanced terracotta artist and the human qualities come forth better in the clay.

Cat. 25

1. Gallonio 1600.
2. The inner wing of the angel on the upper right was lost while the relief was on exhibition at Christie's in 1995.
3. I wish to thank Robert Randolph Coleman who corrected my initial interpretation of this figure as a female saint.
4. See Montagu 1985, vol. II, 380.
5. Oral communication during site visit on August 30, 2016.
6. See Rome 1997, 447–49, where Jennifer Montagu discussed these works and they are well illustrated.

Cat. 26

1. Still a useful resource on the development and variations of this visual imagery is Réau 1955–59, vol. II/2, 621–26.
2. The Sadeler print was based on a design by Johannes Stradanus. The print can be seen on the British Museum website. The inventory number is 1957,0413.218. It is dated "after 1593."
3. See Weber 1975, 234, cat. 454A, which is very close to the Weil example. Based on the black-and-white photograph, it is hard to ascertain whether it is the same one since the owner is not identified in Weber's catalogue. It appears, however, that there are variations in the treatment of the lining of the robes of God the Father and the Virgin Mary.

Cat. 27

1. On Gentili, see Grigioni 1988, 83–118. For his career in Guglielmo della Porta's workshop, see Gramberg 1960, 31–52.
2. On the candlesticks, see Volbach 1948, 281–86.
3. Sangiorgi 1932, 229, n. 12.
4. See Planiscig 1930, Tav. CXIII.
5. Bush 1967, 116–17, discussed sixteenth-century artists' awareness of how context affected the perception of scale in creating monumentality. I want to thank Mark Weil for bringing this work to my attention.

Cat. 28

1. Wittkower 1966, pl. 40.
2. Ibid., 8.
3. Christie's New York 1993, 42.
4. See Fort Worth 1982, cats. 2–4, unpaginated.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. identified six known versions. Avery and Finn 1997, 280, n. 8, identified a seventh in Amsterdam, illustrated p. 76.
7. See Venice 1991, 76, cat. 27, where the height is given as 55 centimeters.
8. See Bresc-Bautier 2006, cat. RF 1601, where the height is listed as 61.7 centimeters.

Cat. 29

1. There are traces of yellow pigment on Christ's hair and traces of gold at the base of the back of his head.
2. On the meaning of the Virgin Lactans, see Williamson 1998, 110–11.
3. See Forsyth 1968, 44, in which he described the case of a sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum where the back has been carved and yet there are metal bars adhered to it for mounting the work on a wall.
4. Sources on Mosan sculpture include Devigne 1932; Hartog 2002; Paris 1951.

Cat. 30

1. Strauss 1976, 84, no. 41.
2. Matthias Mende in Nuremberg 2000, 352, cat. 85; Schoch 2001, 114, notes that earlier problems were solved by lowering the horizon line and avoiding symmetry.
3. *Perspective Study*, pen and ink, Hamburg Kunsthalle; study for a painting closely related to the engraving; Winkler 1936–39, 259; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928, no. 202; Nuremberg 2000, cat. 85; see also cat. 44 for a squared drawing of the figure; Panofsky (1955) 1971, 84, called the print an "architecture piece."
4. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 84; Schoch 2001, 114, notes that the lack of symmetry helps the perspective to function properly.
5. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Marian Cronheim Trust for Prints and Drawings 2:2013. Price 2003, 147, with a citation to Kantor 2000, 14–15.

Cat. 31

1. Hulme 1907, xlvii.
2. Roberts 1998, 836.
3. Innis Shoemaker, "Marcantonio and His Sources: A Survey of His Style and Engraving," in Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82, 3.
4. Bologna 1988, 115–6; on Marcantonio after leaving Bologna, see Pon 2004; Landau and Parshall 1994, 119; and Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82. On his Bolognese period, see Landau and Parshall 1994, 119; TIB, vol. 26 (The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School), 59.
5. Bologna 1988, 1–15; Pon 2009, 203–7.

Cats. 32, 33

1. On Campagnola's career generally, see with further bibliography Metze et al. 2013, 235–42, and Maastricht-Bruges 2002, 59–85.
2. The blemish was first noted by Galichon 1862, 337. The Weil impression includes an additional blemish—similar to those that cut across the sky—to the right of Christ's face, indicating further plate damage. This mark is absent from other second-state impressions, such as those in the Louvre and the Uffizi Gallery, which exhibit a short diagonal mark to the left of the background tree and small blurred blotches near Christ's forehead and beard. See Zdanski 1992, 343.
3. For instance, the windows in the tower in the center background are visible in other first-state impressions, and while Christ's foot nearly disappears under the shadow of his robes in the first state, it is clearly delineated in the second.
4. The vista's atmospheric quality, achieved through highly linear, abstracted forms; the large-scale, meticulously modeled figures; and the complex recessions from the well toward the lagoon in the deep background are formal strategies that depart from works identified as Campagnola's own inventions. Landau and Parshall 1994, 263; Konrad Oberhuber in Washington 1973, 395; Mark Zucker in TIB, vol. 25 (Commentary), 467.
5. This reversal is noted in Emison 1985, 109.
6. Joannides 2001, 131.
7. Ibid., 131. Joannides further notes that these compositional strategies are echoed in Raphael's tapestry cartoon for the *Conversion of the Proconsul*.
8. Emison 1985, 109.

Cat. 34

1. Pon 2004, 86–94 and 118–36.
2. Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82, 112–14.
3. On the painting, Jones and Penny 1983, 160; Bernardini et al. 1983; Meyer zur Capellen 2005, 124–32; Stefaniak 1991, 345–71. On the painting's patron, Bernardini et al. 1983, 81–118. On different audiences for site-specific art and prints, Pon 2015, 63–94.
4. Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82, 112; Meyer zur Capellen 2005, 124–32.
5. Thus Saint Cecilia is one of five prints that include both Marcantonio Raimondi's monogram and an inscription indicating Raphael's authorship. Pon 2004, 69–70; Landau and Parshall 1994, 143.
6. For the life of Saint Cecilia and an account of her martyrdom, see Bosio 1600, no pagination; Voragine (1240) 2012, 704–9.
7. Connolly 1994, 238–61, and Rice 2015, 36–38.
8. Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82, 12.

Cat. 35

1. Of the roughly twenty or so examples that I have been able to see, mostly through photographs, only one was made with an arrow, that in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris. See Milan 2003.
2. Hecht in New York 1985, 77–79, provides an excellent overview of the issues surrounding the versions of this sculpture.
3. Ibid., 78.
4. Some are entirely silvered or gilded, as in the Weil figure, some silvered with gilded hair, wounds, and loincloth.
5. Hecht in New York 1985, 78.
6. See Boudon-Machuel 2005, 342–43, cat. R. 15. Duquesnoy's authorship has found support in a painting in Copenhagen purported to show Duquesnoy and Georg Petel standing together with a model of this sculpture. His training as an ivory carver lends support to that theory. The version in the Bode-Museum, Berlin, is attributed to him. See Knuth in Berlin 1995, 496.

Cats. 36, 37

1. On the life of the historical Jerome and the surge in his popularity beginning in the fourteenth century see Rice 1985. See also the classic thirteenth-century account of Jerome's life in Voragine (1240) 2012, 597–602.
2. Quoted in Rice 1985, 7.
3. First observed in Nuremberg 1971, cat. 352. *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*; illustration from Jacobus de Voragine, Italian, about 1229–1298, *Der Heiligen Leben (Lives of the Saints)*, Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 31.1402.
4. For an insightful recent survey of the rich metaphorical possibilities manifest in Dürer's imagery of drapery and folds, see Heuer 2011, 249–65.
5. Karl Möseneder has examined the phenomenon of hidden faces in this and other landscapes by Dürer in considerable detail, a device the artist may have first seen used in engravings by Mantegna. See Möseneder 1986, 15–23.
6. The most extensive discussion of Ribera's specific influence on this shifting iconography remains Brown 1973; see especially 41–59. Ribera was not the first to represent Jerome as a visionary, but his conception of this motif was the first to find broad dissemination among a larger public, as Brown discusses.

Cat. 38

1. For example, the *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian* (1515), a massive collaborative effort chronicling the emperor's genealogy and his heroic deeds; see Koerner 1993, 224–237, and Silver 2008; both with further references.
2. Sebald Beham, *Satyr and Nymph Wallpaper*, Saint Louis Art Museum, 91:1940; see for more on this phenomenon, Appuhn and Heusinger 1976; and Alison Stewart, "Woodcuts as Wallpaper: Sebald Beham and Large Prints from Nuremberg," in Wellesley-New Haven-Philadelphia 2008–9, 73–84, with further references.
3. See Schoch 2001, cat. 274, for a discussion of the treatise, with further references.
4. See Greenblatt 1983, 1–29; Forssman 1956, 39–63.
5. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 185–86.
6. Ibid.

Cat. 39

1. See, with further bibliography, Pon 2015, 49–54, and Chicago 2011.
2. See, for example, the *Polyhedral Sundial*, c. 1519–32, which was designed to be cut from the printed sheet, folded, and mounted for use, Cambridge-Evanston 2011, cat. 66.
3. DeGrazia Bohlin 1979, 310–12. The Victoria and Albert Museum has an impression in which parts have been cut away, Miller 1999, 204. On prints as "disposable commodities," Van der Stock 1998, 173.
4. Welch 2005, 11–12.
5. Pro fan: Babette Bohn, ed., TIB, vol. 39–1, 1980, 275; Welch 2009, 264; Welch 2005, 11–12. Pro headdress: DeGrazia Bohlin 1979, 310–12; Chicago 2011, 51.
6. DeGrazia Bohlin 1979, 310.

Cat. 40

1. For a sample of decorative designs by Dürer, see London 2002, 62–65; and Silver and Smith 2010, 83–86; on Flindt and his contemporaries, see Winkler 1892, 93–107; Byrne 1981, 102–107.
2. Only one silver object has been attributed to him: an embossed oval gold-plated silver tray with figural motifs (1606; Moscow, Patriarch's Palace); see Braun-Troppau 1913–14, 21–25.
3. He also borrowed many of his motifs from others, including Jost Amman; see Wessely 1878, 123; and Weber 1970, 323–68.
4. Hind 1923, 290–91; Stijnman 2002, 30; Becker 2016.
5. See, for example, a tankard in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (96867/1898).

Cats. 41a–41b

1. Weaver 2012, 27, n. 24.
2. Oxford University's Early Modern Book Database lists eight examples of Manzini's *Applausi* with ten plates and one with eleven.
3. For further bibliography on festival books, Pon 2015, 141–43.
4. Manzini 1637, 30–36.
5. Salatino 1997, 54.
6. Manzini 1637, 31. Apollodorus (c. 180 BCE) 1921.
7. Salatino 1997, 54.
8. As translated in ibid., 19.
9. Watanabe-O'Kelly 2002, 23.

Cats. 42, 43, 44

1. See Lightbown 1986, 234 note 1; Gregory 2012, 12–16.
2. London-New York 1992; Vasari 1550, 512–513: "Et il modo dello intagliare in Rame le Stampe delle figure; comodità singularissima veramente; per la quale ha potuto vedere il Mondo non solamente la baccanaria, la battaglia de' mostri marini, il deposto di croce, il Sepelimento di Christo, la Resurrezione con Longino e con Santo Andrea; opere di esso Mantegna, Ma le maniere ancora di tutti gli artefici, che sono stati."
3. London-New York 1992, 44–54; Fletcher 2001, 3–41; Fletcher examined seven prints, Landau eleven.
4. This is not the first time Gian Marco Cavalli's name has been raised in relation to Mantegna; see Bode 1889, 211–16.
5. Suzanne Boorsch, "Mantegna and His Printmakers," in London-New York 1992, 56–66.
6. Signorini 1996, 103–18.
7. Lincoln 2000, 17.
8. The literature is also divided on whether Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes*, the only Italian rival in size and ambition to Mantegna's prints, predates Mantegna's printmaking. If the earlier time line is accepted, with the earliest prints dating to the 1460s, Mantegna's prints would predate those of Martin Schongauer, the German engraver credited with being the earliest painter of importance to produce engravings of pictorial merit.
9. See Lightbown 1986, 237, regarding a 1491 letter from Mantegna to Francesco Gonzaga about a "quadretino" he had given his patron.
10. London-New York 1992.
11. Landau and Parshall 1994, 65–71.
12. Lightbown 1986, chap. 1.
13. See David Landau, "Mantegna as Printmaker," in London-New York 1992, 44.
14. Ibid., 45, 183; Landau also suggests that Mantegna worked with a drypoint needle as opposed to a burin, 48.
15. Ibid., 54.
16. Ibid., 197, for example; early speculation on Mantegna's use of double-sided plates was borne out by Signorini 1996, 103–118.
17. Boorsch in London-New York 1992, 169–72.
18. London-New York 1992, 195–96, cat. 35.
19. Signorini 1996, 112.
20. London-New York 2012–13, cat. 1.
21. Landau and Parshall 1994, 112.
22. Schongauer, *Battle of St. James at Clavijo* (Bartsch 53) is another example, also with questions about its authenticity.

Cat. 45

1. Dürer noted giving "the *Nemesis*" to people he met in the Netherlands, as recorded in his diaries from that trip: Rupprich 1956–69, vol. I, 154–56, 160, and 162. The literature on *Nemesis* is large; for a thorough summary of the historiography, see Schoch 2001, no. 33; the most direct study of the full range of the print's possible sources remains Panofsky 1962.
2. See Panofsky 1962, 31, n. 3.
3. Stenger 2006; and see Panofsky 1962.
4. Panofsky 1962, 17–19.
5. Giehlow 1902, 25–26.
6. Panofsky 1962, 15.
7. Winkler 1936–39, 186, no. 266; London 2002, cat. 73.

8. The literature is divided about whether Dürer followed Vitruvius exactly in this drawing. See Bernstein 1992, 49–63 and Bonnet 2014, 12.
9. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 82.
10. Schoch 2001, 98.
11. Bonnet 2014, 12; Bernstein 1992, 51; and Talbot in Silver and Smith 2010, 35–61.

Cats. 46, 47

1. See Rupprich 1956–, vol. 1, 101–2.
2. As stated in the *Physiologus*. Cited in Schoch 2001, no. 39.
3. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 85.
4. For more on Dürer's Apollo drawings and their relationship to the figure of Adam, see Panofsky 1920, 359–77.
5. Whether the Albertina drawing of Adam was a preparatory study for the engraving remains undecided. Panofsky, Eduard Flechsig, and Friedrich Winkler believe the drawing postdates the engraving. Walter Koschatzky and Alice Strobl of the Albertina, as well as Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, maintain it to be a study for the engraving. For further discussion and a full enumeration of sources, see Vienna-Washington 2013, cat. 32.
6. Heinrich Wölfflin famously characterized the couple's relationship as "ein frostiges Nebeneinander." Cited and discussed in Schoch 2001, no. 39.
7. For an extensive listing of literature and works of art that depict Mars and Venus as a couple, see Reid 1993, 195–202.
8. This has been noted in the literature before. See, among others, Ferrari 2006, no. 26.
9. For a thorough historiography of the relationship between Barbari and Dürer, see Levenson 1978, esp. 40–62, and cat. 36. Notice of further literature can be found in Ferrari 2006, no. 26. For new and recent insights regarding the influence Dürer's *Adam and Eve* may have had on both Barbari and his close contemporary Jan Gossart, see Bass 2016, 51.

Cats. 48, 49, 50

1. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 151–71, is the seminal and still essential study of these prints.
2. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 151. Washington 1971, 144.
3. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 152.
4. Vienna 2003, 412–13, no. 137.
5. The sculpture still stands on the Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.
6. Vienna 2003, 414–15, no. 138.
7. See, for example, a drawing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1975.1.862).
8. Parshall 1971, 303–5.
9. Panofsky (1955) 1971, 165.
10. I am indebted to James McGarry, who suggested that thirty-four would be the total number of permutations.
11. Lynch 1982, 226–32.
12. Vienna 2003, 410.
13. Friedrich Lippmann cited by Panofsky (1955) 1971, 151.

Cat. 51

1. For a discussion of Rembrandt's sources for his depictions of Abraham, see Perlove and Silver 2009, 76–92.
2. Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92, cat. 39; Rembrandt drew always on art historical tradition, but he supplemented his iconography with borrowings from Flavius Josephus, John Calvin, and the recently published Dutch

States Bible (*Statenbijbel*), all of which alluded to a more acquiescent Isaac, who understood his place and willingly submitted to his sacrifice, Perlove and Silver 2009, 90.

3. This is mentioned in Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, 315, but not resolved.
4. New Hollstein (Rembrandt), 287, lists impressions on Japanese paper in public collections in Amsterdam, Berlin, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London.

Cats. 52, 53

1. Hollstein (Rembrandt) nos. 52–56; nos. 57–59 depict the later episode, the rest on the return from Egypt, 1629–c. 1645.
2. Fucci 2015, 83–88; the inventiveness of his technique was inspired in part by Hercules Seghers, whose etching plate depicting *Tobias and the Angel* (New Hollstein, no. 271) Rembrandt transformed into a *Flight into Egypt* (B.53) in 1653.
3. Perlove and Silver 2009, 168.
4. James 1926, 75.
5. White 1969, 18–19.
6. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, inv. No. KdZ 1152.

Cats. 54, 55

1. Van Egghen 1956, 43–48; Schwartz 1985, 322.
2. See Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, regarding a letter of 1654 remarking on sales of the print for 100 guilders; and on the culture of gifts of art in Rembrandt's time, see Zell 2002b, 186–89.
3. It was called "la Tombe's little plate"; see de Hoop Scheffer and Boon 1971, 1–17.
4. Schwartz 2006 suggests a handful of quotes from other sources beyond Matthew 19.
5. Eleanor Sayre and Felice Stampfle in Boston-New York 1969, 180, suggest that since printing on Japanese paper required less pressure, the effects of drypoint on the plate would last longer.
6. Nine impressions of the first state survive, all on Japanese paper, along with a maculature (a lighter impression taken to clean the ink out of the grooves) and a counterproof, New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 239).
7. This is often credited to another passage, Matthew 18:2–5; see Poughkeepsie 1995, cat. 55.
8. An anecdote about his collecting habit is recorded on the verso of a first state impression of *The Hundred Guilder Print* in the Rijksmuseum, in which he was said to have traded it for a desirable engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi; see Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92, 245.
9. Rotterdam 2006–7, 24; see Schenck 1998, on Hendrick Goltzius's use of gray ink in his own overt emulation of Lucas's print style.
10. For more on the inscriptions see Paul Crenshaw's essay in St. Louis 2006, 116 and 127, n. 49.
11. Nowell-Usticke 1967.

Cats. 56, 57

1. On the question of prints in series, see White 1969, 81; Boston-Chicago 2003–4, 232–39 and 241–46; Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, 44–50 and 309.
2. A drawing by Rembrandt records Leonardo's *Last Supper* fresco, and the baldachin background of this print recalls that composition; see Perlove and Silver 2009, 320; St. Louis 2006, 53.
3. White 1969, 95, confirmed that this represents the initial apparition to the apostles, not the second one, where the doubting Thomas was present; see Boston-Chicago 2003–4, 229.

4. See Perlove and Silver 2009, 321, regarding Calvin's interpretation of Christ's "breath" and authority.
5. Ibid., 311; Perlove and Silver, "Rembrandt's Jesus," in Paris-Philadelphia-Detroit 2011–12, 76.
6. The paper is a Japanese imitation of a Chinese paper type, St. Louis 2006, 53.
7. New Hollstein (Rembrandt, no. 283), with known impressions in public collections listed.
8. Zell 2002b.
9. See St. Louis 2006, 147, for more on the paper.

Cat. 58

1. Montgomery 1999, 59; Rosand 2002, 220–64.
2. See Tom Rasseur, "Looking Over Rembrandt's Shoulder: The Printmaker at Work," in Boston-Chicago 2003–4, 52.
3. Leuschner 2005, chap. 11, stresses the importance of the role played by Stradanus and Tempesta in the revival of the hunt theme in baroque Europe.
4. See Amsterdam-London 2000–2001, cat. 42, with mention of specific passages in the *Lion Hunt* borrowed from Tempesta and Stradanus; Kliman 1982, 446–66.
5. For the importance of Rubens for Rembrandt in general, see Schama 1999, Part Two.
6. Schama 1999, 482–83.
7. See also the 1615 etching by Willem Buytewech, with a lion standing guard inside the enclosed garden representing the nascent Dutch Republic; Schama 1987, 71.

Cat. 59

1. "[P]racticiserende alchimist," de Hoop Scheffer and Boon 1971, 1–17.
2. Among the most recent scholarship is a study reexamining the Faust connection based on newly discovered Faust chapbooks: Fucci 2015.
3. The complex and voluminous literature has been summed up multiple times; see the selected literature above, in particular van de Waal 1964, 6–35, 37–48; Carstensen and Henningsen 1988, 290–312; and Perlove and Silver 2009, 63–67.
4. New Hollstein (Rembrandt), 270, lists eight of the thirty-nine first-state impressions as being on oatmeal paper, seven on Japanese, and three on Chinese.
5. See Crenshaw in St. Louis 2006, 115, who suggests that the second disk is not a mirror.
6. For a discussion of the tradition of images of scholars, see van de Waal 1964, 38–44.

Cat. 60

1. See Wellesley-New Haven-Philadelphia 2008–9, for other multi-plate engravings, including by Goltzius but reaching back to Mantegna's *Battle of the Sea Gods*, as well as the *Virtus Combusta* (cat. 7).
2. See Kunzle 2001, 51–82; and Kunzle 2002, 111–133, with further references.
3. See Filedt Kok 1993, 218; Amsterdam-New York-Toledo 2003–4, 55.
4. There are also two influential Italian prints of the subject: Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael, and Marco Dente after Bandinelli. The Heemskerck print measures 579 × 390 mm; Goltzius's one plate: 485 × 390 mm; 485 doubled would be 970 mm wide.
5. Veldman 2012, 21; Bartsch and Seller 2012

Cat. 61

1. Fiorentini 1999, 47. See also Los Angeles 1988.
2. The opprobrium was long-lived: Vasari recounts that when the sculpture was unveiled in 1534, "all condemn[ed] the work and the artist" three centuries later, John Ruskin called it "disgusting." Vasari (1568) 1964, vol. IV, 43; Ruskin 1906, vol. 2, 198.
3. Fiorentini and Rosenberg 2002, 38.
4. Rice 1985.
5. Fiorentini and Rosenberg 2002, 35–39. Impressions of the completed portrait of Bandinelli, all catalogued as Nicolò della Casa, are in the collections of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.88.91.133; the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1965.308; and the Rijksmuseum, R.P.1907.205.
6. Ibid.
7. Landau and Parshall 1994, 313–14. On unfinished works of art in general, see Parshall in Washington 2001, 9–54, and New York 2016a.

Cat. 62

1. See Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010, 166–68, cat. 132; and Haskell and Penny 1981, 311–14, cat. 80.
2. Haskell and Penny 1981, 314, n. 18, who cited Mauro 1556.
3. There is another close version that I have not examined firsthand in the Fitzwilliam, identified as "Italian, 16th century or later." See Avery 2002, 318, n. 58.
4. It was recently included in the Frankfurt Maniera exhibition. See Mysok in Frankfurt 2016, 210–11, cat. 91.
5. See Clark 1962, 38–40. Additional versions include one formerly in the J. P. Morgan collection, illustrated in Bode 1907, plate CVL. Another version, made into a Hercules, is in Planiscig 1930, plate CXIII fig. 198.
6. Cambridge 1988, 92, cat. 8.
7. See Victoria and Albert Museum website, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O106693/torso-statuetten-unknown>.

Cat. 63

1. Reynolds 1985, 184. For more on Pasquino, see Rendina 1991, 22–24; San Juan 2001, 4; and Barkan 1999, 218.
2. Rendina 1991, 215–17; Gilbert 2015, 79–112.
3. As translated in San Juan 2001, 3.
4. Cohen 2008, 296.
5. Parshall 2006, 3–28; Chicago 2008; Witcombe 2004, 129.
6. Witcombe 2004, 129.

Cats. 64, 65

1. The details of Muller's life remain vague. For a biographical synopsis see Filedt Kok 1994a, 223–64.
2. On Spieghel's two commissions from Cornelis, see van Thiel 1999, 201–03.
3. A dithyramb was a choral poem sung at the Festival of Dionysus in the god's honor, but it can also refer to a poem, often in praise of a subject, written in an especially ardent register. Spieghel's own poetic exaltation of Arion in *Mirror of the Heart* has a certain dithyrambic quality to it: "He [Arion] who can still blithely sing, calm and cheerfully / While straddling a fish and tossed on the high seas, / The nearest ship being hostile, and offering no rescue, / He, steadfast, must rejoice in God, and take delight in virtue." Spieghel, translation from van Thiel

- 1999, 10. An annotated version of the original Dutch poem can be found in Spieghel (1614) 1992. The tale of Arion is recounted by Herodotus in Book 1 of his *Histories*, chaps. 23–24. See the annotated English version in Herodotus (440 BCE) 2007, 14–16. For a listing of prints and other works of art depicting Arion, see Reid 1993, 214–15.
4. This "Michelangesque" element is no coincidence: the figure of Arion was based on Michelangelo's depiction of Saint Bartholomew in his fresco of the *Last Judgment* (1534–41) for the Sistine Chapel. Bartholomew adopts the same seated pose, with his legs straddling a cloud, and his torso, like Arion's, is modeled on that of the *Belvedere Torso* (fig. 45). Van Thiel notes that Cornelis owned a reproductive print of the *Last Judgment*. See van Thiel 1999, 202.
5. The Latin verses on the engraving are an excerpt from the *Satires* of Horace, and were supplied by Spieghel: "So who is free? The wise man, who controls himself, / Whom neither poverty, nor death, nor chains frighten / Who is brave enough to curb his desires and views honors with contempt / Who is rounded, and a perfect whole unto himself" (*Satires*, book 2, chap. 7, lines 83–86; this translation from van Thiel 1999, 89).
6. There is an expansive literature on the history of the Dutch Revolt and the emergence of a Dutch national identity. See for example van de Waal 1952; Israel 1995; and Duke 2009. On the politics of the body and embodiment in Netherlandish art more generally, see also the introduction as well as the various essays in Lehmann and Roodenburg 2008.
7. Accounts of Cleopatra's suicide vary: some state that she used just one asp to commit suicide, while elsewhere she is said to have had two. For a scholarly discussion of this debate, see Tronson 1998, 31–50. Still other accounts state that she did not commit suicide by snakebite at all, but by some other means. For a concise but thorough overview of these differing versions see Jones 2006, 180–206.
8. See, among others, Veldman 1986, 113–27, esp. 122–23.
9. To date, the various essays in Amsterdam-Stockholm-Los Angeles 1998 offer the most thorough overview of de Vries's life and work.
10. Both the size and appearance of the snakes bring to mind the sea serpents from the *Laocoön*, which de Vries knew well. On his long-standing interest in this famous sculpture group see Amsterdam-Stockholm-Los Angeles 1998, 237–39.

Cat. 66

1. On images of spinning as virtuous activity and its opposite in Renaissance Europe, see Grewe 1992, 6–19; on gender reversal in the Omphale story, see Cyrino 1998 and Panoussi 2016. On a Rubens painting of the same subject, see Rosenthal 2005 and Huemer 1979.
2. Ovid, *Heroides* 9; *Ars Amatoria* 2.11; and *Fasti* 2.303–58; Sextus Propertius, *Elegy* IV.
3. Propertius, *Elegy* 4.9.
4. Ovid, *Heroides*: IX.

Cat. 67

1. Haskell and Penny 1981, 232.
2. Maerten van Heemskerck made drawings of the sculpture when he was in Rome. See Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010, plate 137a.

3. Haskell and Penny 1981 noted that it was first in a loggia of the Pitti Palace.

4. On the Baltimore sculpture, see Bowron 1978, 29. There are two other versions—in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and in the Bargello. For the Antico, see Leithe-Jasper in Washington 1986, 76–80, cat. 9. There is another version, with silvered eyes, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

5. I want to thank Fernando Loffredo for a stimulating discussion on this point, and to note his opinion that the bronzes were probably made as copies.

6. The literature on the techniques used in bronze casting is slim. On the rough surface created in making solid bronze casts, see Stone 1981, 93–94, who summed up the need for chasing the rough surfaces of a solid cast bronze in the following sentence, "It is only a slight exaggeration to say that Florentine bronzes were carved rather than cast." I want to thank Raina Chao for referring me to this source.

7. Christie's London 2007, Lot 353.

8. I want to thank and acknowledge the stimulating discussion held at Charles Hack's apartment on July 14, 2016, with Charles, Peter Bell, and Mark Weil, whose comments helped in the development of this thesis.

Cat. 68

1. On the sculpture's identification as a sleeping nymph or muse and its association with humanist poetry, see MacDougall 1975, 357–65.
2. See Haskell and Penny 1981, 186–87.
3. See Bensoussan 2015, 175–98.
4. Ibid., 186, gave an account of some of the copies made of this piece. Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010, 113–14, cat. 79, listed versions in other media as well.

Cat. 69

1. These patrons were named in a 1583 letter from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino; see Dhahens 1956, 351–52.
2. Dhahens 1956, 204–09; Munich 2015, 264–67, cat. 37.
3. These totals are derived by compiling and cross-referencing the versions mentioned in Dhahens 1956, 204–9; Edinburgh-London-Vienna 1978, 45–47, and cats. 98–111, 140–46; and Wengraf 2014, 158–63.
4. Edinburgh-London-Vienna 1978, 143, cat. 105.
5. Turin 1999.
6. Hall & Knight 2001, 94–101, cat. 6.

Cat. 70

1. On the elements of Crucifixion iconography, see Schiller 1972, vol. II, 151–64.
2. Sotheby's London 1993, 44, identified it as southern German. Thomas da Kosta Kauffman examined the relief in 1994 and according to notes made at that time, suggested it is neo-Gothic, made in the Tyrol or around Lake Constanze between 1600 and 1620. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, based on viewing a digital image, called it "a puzzle" and suggested a workshop close to Augsburg.

Cat. 71

1. Windsor, Royal Library, inv. no. 5634. Reproduced in Montagu 1989, 123, fig. 155.
2. Most sources identify Bartolomeo Cennini as the assistant who chased the corpus figures. See, for example, Battaglia 1942, 4, and Avery and Finn 1997, 104. I have not been able to examine

closely any of the corpus figures that sit atop the altars in Saint Peter's. According to Mark Weil, who has seen many of them, they appear to have been chased by different hands.

3. The pope commissioned two different types, a dead Christ on March 17, 1657 (nineteen were produced), and a living Christ ordered two years later (five were made). No explanation has yet been offered as to why this was so.

4. Avery and Finn 1997, 104.

5. See Schlegel 1981, 37–42, who argued that Bernini was more involved in the production than the documents indicate.

6. Raggio in New York 1982, cat. 33.

7. Battaglia 1942 published the documents for the commission, and noted that twenty-six corpus figures were ordered, although Wittkower 1981, 229, stated that the models were cast twenty-five times and twenty-three were still in situ in the basilica. Teresa Kilmer was able to identify at least five more examples, recognizing that there is confusion in the available sources. It is not possible to verify if duplicate versions are being cited.

8. See Spicer 1995, 10, who argued that the one in the Walters and the example in Princeton were after casts.

9. For example, one sold at Christie's London in 1989. See Christie's London 1989, Lot 48.

Cat. 72

1. Matthew 3:13–17, Mark 1:9–11, Luke 3:21–22, although Luke gives no real description of the event, merely stating, "Now it happened that when all the people had been baptized and while Jesus after his own baptism was at prayer..."

2. Montagu 1985, vol. II, 310–14, listed one silver version and sixteen in bronze.

3. On the Vatican piece, see *ibid.*, vol. II, 311, cat. 8.B.2.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. II, 369–72, cat. 68.

5. Based on the elongated, graceful fingers, Fernando Loffredo, during a site visit on August 30, 2016, favored a date very late in the century.

Cat. 73

1. For a discussion of the historiography until 1964, I refer the reader to Pope-Hennessy 1964, vol. I, 192–93. See also Boucher 1991, I, 6–7.

2. Bode 1901–2, 1–4.

3. Boucher 1991, vol. I, 6–7, and vol. II, cat. no. 2.

4. See Altomani website, www.altomani.com.

5. Andrew Butterfield, in a conversation on September 24, 2015, told me that he questioned whether the market version was by the same artist as the Bargello, and suggested that the former may be by a copyist similar to the ones that he and David Franklin discussed in Butterfield and Franklin 1998, 819–24.

6. I want to thank Fernando Loffredo for an illuminating discussion of this piece during his visit to St. Louis on August 30, 2016. I also wish to acknowledge his understanding of this sculpture as a later copy after Sansovino.

Cats. 74, 75

1. The form of the numbers on the label on the back of the bust do not conform to the typical inventory numbers found in Victor Spark's stock book for 1958–1960, which include the year, a period, and then a number.

2. Ann Markham Schulz has written most descriptively about Minello's style. See Schulz 1987, 291–326. Authors who have attributed the Pomona to Minello include Zock 2002, 26–33, and Boucher in Houston-London 2001, 23. Peta Motture, private conversation on May 20, 2016, also favored an attribution to Minello. I want to thank Fernando Loffredo for an illuminating discussion on these heads during a site visit on August 30, 2016. I particularly appreciate him for challenging my earlier inclination to attribute the heads to Minello.

3. *Ibid.*, 305–6, 313–15, figs. 10, 11.

4. Gentilini 1996, 32.

5. Sotheby's London 2004a, Lot 32.

6. Private communication, October 5, 2016. Mark directed me to Maria Chiara Ceriotti, "Il restauro dei busti del Seminario," in Mantua 2008, 68–73, who discussed Antico's work for the bishop's palace in Mantua. Although an attribution to Antico is not supportable, the sense of classical models that is evident in both Antico and Mantegna is certainly evident in the *Bust of an Emperor*.

7. Boucher in Houston-London 2001, 23.

8. See Leite-Jasper in Washington 1986, 138–39; and Luchs 1995, 99–102.

9. Gentilini 1996, 32.

10. Schulz 1987, 292. Gentilini 1996, 32.

11. Gentilini 1996, 31.

12. Luchs 1995, 28.

Cat. 76

1. Bellori (1672) 2005, 228.

2. See Boselli 1978, fol. 124v; and Colantuono 1989, 213.

3. Lingo 2002, 83.

4. Boudon-Machuel 2005, cat. CE.62 dér.11, suggested that one of the Braunschweig heads was cast under Duquesnoy's direction. See n. 5 below.

5. For the two in Braunschweig, see Berger and Krahn 1994. On the Vienna head, see Boudon-Machuel 2005, Inv. 5986, 275, cat. CE.62 dér.10, fig. 88.

6. Boselli 1978, fol. 124v, as cited in Colantuono 1989, 214.

Cat. 77

1. Guida Generale 1911.

2. Brinckmann 1923–24, plate 24.

3. Wittkower 1966, 235.

4. Tiberia 2000, 234–35.

5. New York-Fort Worth 2012, 373–74, n. 74, where Dickerson cited Jennifer Montagu as having helped him come to that conclusion.

6. Dickerson and Sigel 2016, 190–203.

7. This point was also made in Weil 2015, 442.

8. Dickerson in New York-Fort Worth 2012, 374.

9. Wittkower 1966, 234–35, cat. 60.

10. Montagu 1977, 95–96, noted that Giorgetti used the pose of the angel with Saint Philip Neri in designing the altar rail, which raises the possibility that the bust may have been from the possibility that the bust may have been from the Algardi workshop. I want to thank C. D. Dickerson who, in a private conversation, indicated that he thought there might be an Algardi connection as well.

Cat. 78

1. Montanari in Butterfield and Moretti 2010, 96–104.

2. I want to thank Fernando Loffredo for a stimulating discussion of the bust on August 30, 2016. He caused me to look again at the related terracottas to understand the different technique used in the Weil head.

3. Montanari in Butterfield and Moretti 2010, 103. For the bozzetto, see Bissell 1997, 84, fig. 50.

4. Montanari in Butterfield and Moretti 2010, 98.

Cat. 79

1. The bronze was in the Mayer Collection in Vienna. It was purchased by Leopold and Ruth Blumka, and entered the Frick Collection as part of Ruth Blumka's bequest in 1997.

2. See New York 2016b, 111, cat. 12, or 224, cat. 158.

3. Stone 2006, 810–19.

4. See Davide Gasparotto, "The Pleasure of Littleness: The Allure of Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance," in Milan 2015, 81–88, for a good introduction to the appreciation of small bronze statuettes in the Renaissance. The exhibition catalogue in which his essay appeared contains a range of examples of the various types of antique forms. I wish to thank Xavier Salomon for bringing this publication to my attention.

Cat. 80

1. On Orsini, see Haskell 1971, 95–98.

2. Wittkower 1981, 205. I wish to thank Teresa Kilmer for her research on the armor.

3. Haskell 1971, Appendix 2, was the first to publish the documents, four letters to the duke, that relate to the bust.

4. Wittkower 1966, 204.

5. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1984, 158–60. See also Rubsam 1975, 92.

6. I wish to especially thank Peter Bell, assistant curator at the Met, for so graciously setting up our visit on July 14, 2016, and for his thoughtful and insightful comments.

7. I want to thank Denise Allen, whose attentive and informed viewing allowed us to come to a much richer understanding of the bronze.

8. Anthony Radcliffe, in London 1979, 32.

9. *Ibid.*

Bibliography

- Agosti 2002. Agosti, Barbara. "Spunti di letteratura artistica calabrese nell'età della Controriforma. L'ombra lunga di Carlo Borromeo." In *Pange lingua: L'Eucaristia in Calabria. Storia, Devozione, Arte*, 147–61. Edited by Giorgio Leone. Catanzaro, It., 2002.
- Albricci 1983. Albricci, Gioconda. "Il 'Sogno di Raffaello' di Giorgio Ghisi." *Arte Cristiana* 71 (1983): 215–22.
- Altrocchi 1921. Altrocchi, Rudolph. "The Calumny of Apelles in the Literature of the Quattrocento." *PMLA* 36 (September 1921): 454–91.
- Amsterdam 1934. Stedelijk Museum. *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsch Bezit*. Amsterdam, 1934. Exh. cat.
- Amsterdam 1993–94. Luijten, Ger et al., eds. *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620*. Amsterdam, 1993. Exh. cat.
- Amsterdam 1996–97. van der Coelen, Peter et al. *Patriarchs, Angels, and Prophets: The Old Testament in Netherlandish Printmaking from Lucas van Leyden to Rembrandt*. Amsterdam, 1996. Exh. cat.
- Amsterdam-Jerusalem 1991. Tümpel, Christian et al. *Het Oude Testament in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam, 1991. Exh. cat.
- Amsterdam-London 2000–2001. Hinterding, Erik, Ger Luijten, and Martin Royalton-Kisch, eds. *Rembrandt the Printmaker*. London, 2000. Exh. cat.
- Amsterdam-New York-Toledo 2003–4. Leeflang, Huigen, and Ger Luijten, eds. *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617): Drawings, Prints and Paintings*. Amsterdam, 2003. Exh. cat.
- Amsterdam-Stockholm-Los Angeles 1998. Scholten, Frits, ed. *Adriaen de Vries, 1556–1626: Imperial Sculptor*. Amsterdam, 1998. Exh. cat.
- Apollodorus (c. 180 BCE) 1921. Apollodorus. *The Library*. Translated by Sir James George Frazer. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA, 1921.
- Appuhn and Heusinger 1976. Appuhn, Horst, and Christian von Heusinger. *Riesenholzschnitte und Papiertapeten der Renaissance*. Unterschneidheim, Ger., 1976.
- Arrigoni and Bertarelli 1939. Arrigoni, Paolo, and Achille Bertarelli, eds. *Piante e vedute di Roma e del Lazio conservate nella Raccolta delle stampe e dei disegni*. Milan, 1939.
- Artemis 1993. *Fifteen Etchings by Rembrandt*. London, 1993.
- Artemis and Sotheby's 1995. Bialler, Nancy et al., eds. *A Collection of Etchings by Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606–1669) formed by Joseph R. Ritman*. New York and London, 1995.
- Auerbach 2009. Auerbach, Elissa. "Marian Piety and the Forging of the Community in Hendrick Goltzius's *The Life of the Virgin*." *Marian Studies* 60 (2009): 253–74.
- Avery 2002. Avery, Victoria, and Jo Dillon. *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. London, 2002.
- Avery and Finn 1997. Avery, Charles, and David Finn. *Bernini: Genius of the Baroque*. Boston, 1997.
- Avery and Radcliffe 1983. Avery, Charles, and Anthony Radcliffe. "Severo da Calzetta da Ravenna: New Discoveries." In *Studien zum europäischen Kunsthandwerk. Festschrift Yvonne Hackenbroch*, 107–22. Munich, 1983.
- Bacchi and Zanuso 1996. Bacchi, Andrea, ed., with Susanna Zanuso. *Scultura del '600 a Roma*. Milan, 1996.
- Baillie-Grohman 1925. Baillie-Grohman, William A. *Sport in Art: An Iconography of Sport During Four Hundred Years from the Beginning of the Fifteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Centuries*. New York, 1925.
- Balzani 2015. Balzani, Roberto. *Un territorio per il patrimonio. Percorsi di conservazione e di tutela*. Bologna, 2015.
- Barkan 1999. Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven, CT, 1999.
- Barolsky 1998. Barolsky, Paul. "As in Ovid, So in Renaissance Art." *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (Summer 1998): 451–74.
- Baroni 1875. Baroni, Giovanni. *La Parrocchia di San Martino a Majano*. Florence, 1875.
- Bartman 2003. Bartman, Elizabeth. "Piecing as Paragone: Carlo Albacini's Diana at Ince." In *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures*, 119–23. Edited by Janet Burnett Grossman, Jerry Podany, and Marion True. Los Angeles, 2003.
- Bartsch and Seiler 2012. Bartsch, Tatjana and Peter Seiler, eds. *Rom zeichnen: Maarten van Heemskerck 1532–1536/37*. Berlin, 2012.
- Bass 2016. Bass, Marisa Anne. *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*. Princeton, NJ, 2016.
- Battaglia 1942. Battaglia, Roberto. *Crocifissi del Bernini in S. Pietro in Vaticano*. Rome, 1942.
- Becker 2016. Becker, David P. "Punched Print." Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press. Accessed September 14, 2016. <http://oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T070072>.
- Behling 1964. Behling, Lottlisa. "Rembrandt's sog. Dr. Faustus," Johann Baptista Portas Magia naturalis und Jacob Böhme." *Oud Holland* 79 (1964): 49–77.
- Bellini 1998. Bellini, Paolo. *L'Opera Incisa di Giorgio Ghisi*. Bassano del Grappa, It., 1998.
- Bellori (1672) 2005. Bellori, Giovanni Pietro. *The Lives of Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*. Edited and translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl, Hellmut Wohl, and Tomaso Montanari. New York, 2005.
- Bensoussan 2015. Bensoussan, Nicole. "From the French Galerie to the Italian Garden: Sixteenth-Century Displays of Primaticcio's Bronzes at Fontainebleau." *Journal of the History of Collections* 27 (2015): 175–98.
- Berger and Krahn 1994. Berger, Ursel, and Volker Krahn. *Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock: Katalog der Sammlung*. Braunschweig, Ger., 1994.
- Berlin 1970. Tümpel, Christian, and Astrid Tümpel. *Rembrandt legt die Bibel aus. Zeichnungen und Radierungen aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. Berlin, 1970. Exh. cat.
- Berlin 1979. Mielke, Hans. *Manierismus in Holland um 1600 Kupferstiche, Holzschnitte und Zeichnungen aus dem Berliner Kupferstichkabinett*. Berlin, 1979. Exh. cat.
- Berlin 1995. Krahn, Volker, ed. *Von allen Seiten schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*. Berlin, 1995. Exh. cat.
- Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991–92. Bevers, Holm, Peter Schatborn, and Barbara Welzel. *Rembrandt. The Master & His Workshop II: Drawings and Etchings*. New Haven, CT, 1991. Exh. cat.
- Berlin-Rome-London 2000–2001. Schulze Altcapenberg, Hein-Th., ed. *Sandro Botticelli: The Drawings for Dante's Divine Comedy*. London, 2000. Exh. cat.
- Bernardini et al. 1983. Bernardini, Carla et al. *La Santa Cecilia di Raffaello: Indagini per un dipinto*. Bologna, 1983.
- Bernheimer 1952. Bernheimer, Richard. *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA, 1952.

- Bernstein 1992.** Bernstein, JoAnne G. "The Female Model and the Renaissance Nude: Dürer, Giorgione, and Raphael." *Artibus et Historiae* 13 (1992): 49–63.
- Bialler 2003.** Bialler, Nancy. "Goltzius and Sculpture." *Print Quarterly* 20 (2003): 89–90.
- Bissell 1997.** Bissell, Gerhard. *Pierre Le Gros, 1666–1719*. Reading, UK, 1997.
- Bober and Rubinstein (1986) 2010.** Bober, Phyllis Pray, and Ruth Rubinstein. *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*. Oxford, 2010.
- Bode 1889.** Bode, Wilhelm von. "Die Bronzebüste des Battista Spagnoli im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin, ein Werk mutmasslich des Gian Marco Cavalli." *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 10 (1889): 211–16.
- Bode 1901–2.** Bode, Wilhelm von. "Ein Florentiner Thombildner vom Anfang der Hochrenaissance." *Zeitschrift der Bildenden Kunst* 13 (1901–2): 1–4.
- Bode 1907.** Bode, Wilhelm von. *Die Italienischen Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance*. Berlin, 1907.
- Bode and Krahn 1995.** Bode, Wilhelm and Volker Krahn. "Von allen Seiten Schon": *Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*. Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1995.
- Boerner 1998.** C. G. Boerner. *Hendrick Goltzius und die Haarlemer Stecherschule*. Düsseldorf, Ger. and New York, 1998.
- Bojanowski 1938.** Bojanowski, Martin. "Das Anagramm in Rembrandts 'Faust.'" *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 16 (1938): 527–30.
- Bojanowski 1940.** Bojanowski, Martin. "Der Spiegel in Rembrandts Fastradierung." *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 18 (1940): 467–69.
- Bologna 1988.** Faietti, Marzia, and Konrad Oberhuber, eds. *Bologna e l'umanesimo, 1490–1510*. Bologna, 1988. Exh. cat.
- Bonnet 2014.** Bonnet, Anne-Marie. *Albrecht Dürer: Die Erfindung des Aktes*. Munich, 2014.
- Boon 1964.** Boon, Karel G. "Een vroege studie voor de Honderd Gulden Prent." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 12 (1964): 85–90.
- Boorsch and Lewis 1985.** Boorsch, Suzanne, Michal Lewis, and R. E. Lewis. *The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi*. New York, 1985.
- Borenus 1909.** Borenus, Tancred. *Painters of Vicenza: 1480–1550*. London, 1909.
- Borenus 1923.** Borenus, Tancred. *Four Early Italian Engravers: Antonio del Pollaiuolo, Andreas Mantegna, Jacopo de' Barbari, Giulio Campagnola*. London, 1923.
- Boselli 1978.** Boselli, Orfeo. *Osservazioni della Scoltura Antica dai Monoscritti Corsini e Doria e Altri Scritti*. Edited by Phoebe Dent Weil. Florence, 1978.
- Bosio 1600.** Bosio, Antonio. *Historia passionis B. Caeciliae virginis, Valerian, i tiburtini, et maximi martyrum*. Rome, 1600.
- Boston 1971.** Sayre, Eleanor A. et al. *Albrecht Dürer: Master Printmaker*. Greenwich, CT, 1971. Exh. cat.
- Boston-Chicago 2003–4.** Ackley, Clifford S., Ronni Baer, Thomas E. Rassieur, and William W. Robinson. *Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher*. Boston: MFA Publications, 2003. Exh. cat.
- Boston-New York 1969.** Sayre, Eleanor A., and Felice Stampfle et al. *Rembrandt: Experimental Etcher*. Boston, 1969. Exh. cat.
- Boston-St. Louis 1980–81.** Ackley, Clifford S. *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*. Boston, 1980. Exh. cat.
- Boucher 1991.** Boucher, Bruce. *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*. 2 vols. New Haven, CT, 1991.
- Boudon-Machuel 2005.** Boudon-Machuel, Marion. *François du Quesnoy, 1597–1643*. Paris, 2005.
- Bowron 1978.** Bowron, Edgar Peters. *Renaissance Bronzes in the Walters Art Gallery*. Baltimore, 1978.
- Brauer 1931.** Brauer, Elisabeth. "Jacopo de' Barbari's graphische Kunst." PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 1931.
- Brauer and Wittkower 1931.** Brauer, Heinrich, and Rudolf Wittkower. *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1931.
- Braun-Troppau 1913–14.** Braun-Troppau, E. W. "Plaketten von Paul Flindt." *Archiv für Medaillen- und Plaketten-Kunde* 1 (October 1913–14): 21–25.
- Bresc-Bautier 2006.** Bresc-Bautier, Geneviève et al. *Les sculptures européennes du musée du Louvre*. Paris, 2006.
- Brinckmann 1923–24.** Brinckmann, A. E. *Barock-Bozzetti*. 4 vols. Frankfurt am Main, Ger., 1923–24.
- Bromberg 1989.** Bromberg, Ruth. "Goltzius States." *Print Quarterly* 6 (1989): 170.
- Brown 1973.** Brown, Jonathan, ed. *Jusepe de Ribera: Prints and Drawings*. Princeton, NJ, 1973.
- Buccheri 2014.** Buccheri, Alessandra. *The Spectacle of Clouds, 1439–1650: Italian Art and Theatre*. Burlington, UK, 2014.
- Bury 2001.** Bury, Michael. *The Print in Italy, 1550–1620*. London, 2001.
- Bush 1967.** Bush, Virginia. "The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1967.
- Butterfield and Franklin 1998.** Butterfield, Andrew and David Franklin. "A Documented Episode in the History of Renaissance 'Terracuda' Sculpture." *Burlington Magazine* 140 (December 1998): 819–24.
- Butterfield and Moretti 2010.** Andrew Butterfield Fine Arts and Moretti Fine Art. *Body and Soul: Masterpieces of Italian Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*. New York, 2010.
- Byrne 1981.** Byrne, Janet S. *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings*. New York, 1981.
- Caglioti 2007.** Caglioti, Francesco. "Nuove terracotte di Benedetto da Maiano." *Prospettiva* 126/127 (April–July 2007): 15–45.
- Cambridge 1988.** Ward, Roger B. *Baccio Bandinelli, 1493–1560: Drawings from British Collections: Second Sotheby Fitzwilliam Exhibition*. Cambridge, UK, 1988. Exh. cat.
- Cambridge-Evanston 2011.** Dackerman, Susan, ed. *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA, 2011. Exh. cat.
- Campbell 2004.** Campbell, Stephen J. *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este*. New Haven, CT, 2004.
- Carl 2006.** Carl, Doris. *Benedetto da Maiano: A Florentine Sculptor at the Threshold of the High Renaissance*. 2 vols. Turnhout, Bel., 2006.
- Carrington 1920.** Carrington, Fitz Roy. "Florentine Studies: I. The Illustrations to Landino's 'Dante,' 1481." *Art & Life* 11 (1920): 372–77.
- Carstensen 1993.** Carstensen, Hans Thomas. *Empirie als Bildsprache: Überlegungen zum jüdischen Einfluss auf Rembrandts Kunst*. Ammersbek bei Hamburg, Ger., 1993.
- Carstensen and Henningsen 1988.** Carstensen, Hans Thomas, and Wolfgang Henningsen. "Rembrandts sog. Dr. Faustus. Zur Archäologie eines Bildsinns." *Oud Holland* 102 (1988): 290–312.
- Cast 1981.** Cast, David. *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanist Tradition*. New Haven, CT, 1981.
- Cavallo 1998.** Cavallo, Adolfo Salvatore. *The Unicorn Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1998.

- Cëndali 1926.** Cëndali, Lorenzo. *Giuliano e Benedetto da Majano (Fiesole)*. Florence, 1926.
- Charton 2007.** Charton, F. "Catalogue des estampes du XVI^e siècle des Anciens Pays-Bas conservées au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon." Master's thesis, University of Lyon, 2007.
- Chicago 2008.** Zorach, Rebecca. *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Chicago, 2008. Exh. cat.
- Chicago 2011.** Schmidt, Suzanne Kathleen Karr, and Kimberly Nichols. *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life*. Chicago, 2011. Exh. cat.
- Christian 2012.** Christian, Kathleen Wren. "For the Delight of Friends, Citizens, and Strangers: Maarten van Heemskerck's Drawings of Antiquities Collections in Rome." In *Rom Zeichnen. Maarten van Heemskerck 1532–1536/37*, 129–56. Edited by Tatjana Bartsch and Peter Seiler. Berlin, 2012.
- Christie's London 1967.** Christie's London, *Continental Objects of Art: Fine French and Other Continental Furniture, Important Tapestries, Rugs and Carpets*, Thursday, November 30, 1967.
- Christie's London 1989.** Christie's London, *Important European Sculpture and Works of Art*, Tuesday, July 4, 1989.
- Christie's London 2007.** Christie's London, *Le gout Steinitz, III*, December 6, 2007.
- Christie's London 2011.** Christie's London, *500 Years; Decorative Arts Europe*, December 8, 2011.
- Christie's London 2012.** Christie's London, December 5, 2012.
- Christie's Monaco 1993.** Christie's Monaco, *Mobilier, Tapisseries, Objets D'Art; Porcelaines et Faïences Européennes*, Friday, July 2, 1993, and Saturday, July 3, 1993.
- Christie's New York 1993.** Christie's New York, *Important European Sculpture from the Collection of John R. Gaines*, June 2, 1993.
- Christie's New York 1995.** Christie's New York, *European Works of Art, Furniture and Tapestries*, Tuesday, January 10, 1995.
- Cieri Via and Calandra 1992.** Cieri Via, Claudia, and Elena Calandra. *I Tarocchi detti del Mantegna*. Pavia, It., 1992.
- CINO 1974–75.** La Confédération Internationale des Négociants en Oeuvres d'Art. *The Grand Gallery at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1974–75.
- Clark 1962.** Clark, Anthony M. "Recent Accessions." *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 51, (June 1962): 38–40.
- Coburg 1994.** Wiebel, Christiane. *Italianische Druckgraphik des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus eigenem Besitz*. Coburg, Ger., 1994. Exh. cat.
- Cohen 2008.** Cohen, Simona. *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*. Leiden, Neth., 2008.
- Colantuono 1989.** Colantuono, Anthony. "Titian's Tender Infants: On the Imitation of Venetian Painting in Baroque Rome." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 3 (1989): 207–34.
- Colonna (1499) 1999.** Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*. Translated by Jocelyn Godwin. London, 1999.
- Connolly 1994.** Connolly, Thomas. *Mourning into Joy: Music, Raphael, and Saint Cecilia*. New Haven, CT, 1994.
- Cuttler 1991.** Cuttler, Charles D. "Exotics in Post-Medieval European Art: Giraffes and Centaurs." *Artibus et Historiae* 12 (1991): 161–79.
- Cyrino 1998.** Cyrino, Monica Sylveira. "Heroes in D(u)ress: Transvestism and Power in the Myths of Herakles and Achilles." *Arethusa* 31 (Spring 1998): 207–41.
- D'Addosio 1920.** D'Addosio, Giovan Battista. *Documenti inediti di artisti napoletani dei secoli XVI e XVII: Dalle polizze dei banchi*. Naples, It., 1920.
- D'Agostino 2011.** D'Agostino, Paola. *Cosimo Fanzago scultore*. Naples, It., 2011.
- d'Arco 1840.** d'Arco, Carlo. *Di cinque valenti incisori Mantovani del secolo XVI e delle stampe da loro operate*. Mantua, It., 1840.
- Daniel Katz 2006.** Daniel Katz, Ltd. *Fired Up: European Terracottas 1450–1950*. London, 2006.
- Dante (1320) 2000.** Dante Alighieri. *Inferno*. Translated by Robert Hollander. New York, 2000.
- Dante (1320) 2003.** Dante Alighieri. *Inferno*. Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. With an introduction and notes by Peter Bondanella. New York, 2003.
- Davies 1991.** Davies, Glenys. "Albacini Cast Collection: Character and Significance." *Journal of the History of Collections* 3 (1991): 145–65.
- Decker 1993.** Decker, Andrew. "Gentlemen Prefer Bronze." *New York Magazine*, May 24, 1993.
- De Franciscis 1946.** De Franciscis, Alfonso. "Restauro di Carlo Albacini a statue del Museo Nazionale di Napoli." *Samnium* 19 (1946): 95–110.
- DeGrazia Bohlin 1979.** DeGrazia Bohlin, Diane. *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné*. Washington, 1979.
- DeGrazia Bohlin 1984.** DeGrazia Bohlin, Diane, ed. *Le stampe dei Carracci: con i disegni, le incisioni, le copie e i dipinti connessi. Catalogo critico*. Bologna, 1984.
- De Kersauson 1996.** De Kersauson, Kate. *Catalogue des portraits romains*. Vol. 2. Paris, 1996.
- Delaborde 1888.** Delaborde, Henri. *Marc-antoine Raimondi: étude historique et critique, suivie d'un catalogue raisonné des œuvres du maître*. Paris, 1888.
- Dell'Arco and Carandini 1977–78.** Dell'Arco, Maurizio Fagiolo, and Silvia Carandini. *L'effimero barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma del '600*. Rome, 1977–78.
- Devigne 1932.** Devigne, Marguerite. *La sculpture mosane du XII^e au XVI^e siècle: contribution à l'étude de l'art dans la région de la Meuse moyenne*. Brussels, 1932.
- Dhahens 1956.** Dhahens, Elisabeth. *Jean Boulogne, Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo, Douai 1529–Florence 1608*. Brussels, 1956.
- Di Maria 1996.** Di Maria, Salvatore. "Towards an Italian Theater: Rucellai's *Oreste*." *MLN* 111 (1996): 123–48.
- Di Maria 2002.** Di Maria, Salvatore. *The Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance: Cultural Realities and Theatrical Innovations*. Lewisburg, PA, 2002.
- Dickerson 2006.** Dickerson, C. D., III. "Bernini and Before: Modeled Sculpture in Rome, c. 1600–25." PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006.
- Dickerson and Sigel 2016.** Dickerson, C. D., III, and Anthony Sigel. "Bernini/Not Bernini: Reflections on the Role of Technical Evidence in the Attribution of Bernini's Terracottas." *Material Bernini*. Edited by Evonne Levy and Carolina Mangone. London, 2016.
- Diemer 2004.** Diemer, Dorotea. *Hubert Gerhard und Carlo di Cesare del Palagio: Bronzeplastiker der Spätrenaissance*. Berlin, 2004.
- Disertori 1926.** Disertori, Benvenuto. "Fra incisori antichi e stampe rare. Il Sogno di Raffaello ossia la vita del saggio." *Emporium* 64 (1926): 258–65.
- Dodgson 1933.** Dodgson, Campbell. "An Undescribed State of Dürer's St. Jerome in the Wilderness." *Print Collector's Quarterly* 20 (1933): 269.
- Dreyer 1984.** Dreyer, Peter. "Botticelli's Series of Engravings 'of 1481.'" *Print Quarterly* 1 (June 1984): 111–15.

- Duke 2009. Duke, Alistair. *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*. Farnham, UK, 2009.
- Dunlop 1993. Dunlop, Anne. "'El Vostro Poeta': The First Florentine Printing of Dante's 'Commedia.'" *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 20 (1993): 29–42.
- Dupré 2005. Dupré, Sven. "Optics, Pictures and Evidence: Leonardo's Drawings of Mirrors and Machinery." *Early Science and Medicine* 10 (2005): 211–36.
- Dürer 1525. Dürer, Albrecht. *Underweysung der Messung, mit dem zirckel un[d] richtscheyt, in Linien ebnen unnd gantzen corporen durch Albrecht Dürer zusammen getzoge[n] und zu nutz alle[n] kunstlieb habenden mit zu gebürigen figuren in truck gebracht im jar. M.D.XXV*. Nuremberg, 1525.
- Durham 2006. Emison, Patricia. *The Simple Art: Printed Images in an Age of Magnificence*. Durham, NH, 2006. Exh. cat.
- Dussler 1924. Dussler, Luitpold. *Benedetto da Majano: Ein Florentiner Bildhauer des Späten Quattrocento*. Munich, 1924.
- Dwyer 1970–71. Dwyer, Eugene J. "A Note on the Sources of Mantegna's Virtus Combusta." *Marsyas* 15 (1970–71): 58–62.
- Ebert-Schifferer 2006. Ebert-Schifferer, Sybille. "Schlafende Venus und Satyr." In *Giambologna in Dresden: Die Geschenke der Medici*, 18–25. Edited by Dirk Syndram, Moritz Woelk, and Martina Minning. Dresden, 2006.
- Edinburgh-London-Vienna 1978. Avery, Charles, and Anthony Radcliffe. *Giambologna 1529–1608: Sculptor to the Medici*. London, 1978. Exh. cat.
- Van Eeghen 1956. van Eeghen, Isabella H. "De Familie de la Tombe en Rembrandt." *Oud Holland* 71 (1956): 43–49.
- Emison 1977. Emison, Patricia. *Low and High Style in Italian Renaissance Art*. New York, 1977.
- Emison 1985. Emison, Patricia. "Invention and the Italian Renaissance Print, Mantegna to Parmigiano." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1985.
- Euripides (c. 414–12 BCE) 2013. Euripides. *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. Translated by Anne Carson. With an introduction by Glenn Most and Mark Griffith. Chicago, 2013.
- Evans 1941. Evans, Oliver. "Selections from the Bestiary of Leonardo da Vinci." *Journal of American Folklore* 64 (October–December 1941): 393–96.
- Evanston-Chapel Hill 1993. Riggs, Timothy, and Larry Silver. *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540–1640*. Evanston, IL, 1993. Exh. cat.
- Even 1997. Even, Yael. "Daphne (without Apollo) Reconsidered: Some Disregarded Images of Sexual Pursuit in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art." *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 143–59.
- Falke 1894. Falke, Otto von. "Eine Majolika-Malerei des Quattrocento." *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 15 (1894): 40–47.
- Ferrari 2006. Ferrari, Simone. *Jacopo de' Barbari. Un protagonista del Rinascimento tra Venezia e Dürer*. Milan, 2006.
- Ferrari and Papaldo 1999. Ferrari, Oreste, and Serenita Papaldo. *Le sculture del Seicento a Roma*. Rome, 1999.
- Filedt Kok 1991. Filedt Kok, Jan Piet. "Proefdrukken uit Goltzius' atelier omstreeks 1587." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991): 363–74.
- Filedt Kok 1993. Filedt Kok, Jan Piet. "Hendrick Goltzius—Engraver, Designer and Publisher 1582–1600." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (Goltzius Studies: Hendrick Goltzius 1558–1617)* 42/43 (1993), 159–218.
- Filedt Kok 1994a. Filedt Kok, Jan Piet. "Jan Harmensz. Muller as Printmaker I." *Print Quarterly* 11 (September 1994): 223–64.
- Filedt Kok 1994b. Filedt Kok, Jan Piet. "Jan Harmensz. Muller as Printmaker II." *Print Quarterly* 11 (December 1994): 351–78.
- Filedt Kok 1995. Filedt Kok, Jan Piet. "Jan Harmensz. Muller as Printmaker III—Catalogue." *Print Quarterly* 12 (March 1995): 3–29.
- Fiorentini 1999. Fiorentini, Erna. *Ikongrafie Eines Wandels: Form und Intention von Selbstbildnis und Porträt des Bildhauers im Italien des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1999.
- Fiorentini and Rosenberg 2002. Fiorentini, Erna, and Raphael Rosenberg. "Baccio Bandinelli's Self-Portrait." *Print Quarterly* 19 (2002): 34–44.
- Flehsig 1928–31. Flehsig, Eduard. *Albrecht Dürer. Sein Leben und seine künstlerische Entwicklung*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1928–31.
- Fleming and Stoneham 1973. Fleming, S. J., and D. Stoneham. "Thermoluminescent Authenticity Study and Dating of Renaissance Terracottas." *Archaeometry* 15 (July 1973): 239–48.
- Fletcher 2001. Fletcher, Shelley. "A Closer Look at Mantegna's Prints." *Print Quarterly* 18 (2001): 3–41.
- Forssman 1956. Forssman, Erik. *Säule und Ornament: Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Stockholm, 1956.
- Förster 1887. Förster, Richard. "Die Verleumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance." *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 8 (1887): 29–56, 89–113.
- Förster 1901. Förster, Richard. "Studien zu Mantegna und den Bildern im Studierzimmer der Isabella Gonzaga." *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 22 (1901): 78–87.
- Forsyth 1968. Forsyth, William H. "A Group of Fourteenth-Century Mosan Sculptures." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 1 (1968): 41–59.
- Fort Worth 1982. Mezzatesta, Michael P. *The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini: Selected Sculpture*. Fort Worth, 1982. Exh. cat.
- Frangipane 1920. Frangipane, Alfonso. "Cosimo Fanzago in Calabria." *Arte e Storia* 39 (1920): 133–37.
- Frankfurt 2016. Eclercy, Bastian, ed. *Maniera: Pontormo, Bronzino and Medici Florence*. Munich, 2016. Exh. cat.
- Freeman 1976. Freeman, Margaret B. *The Unicorn Tapestries*. New York, 1976.
- Fucci 2015. Fucci, Robert. "Rembrandt and the Faust Tradition." Lecture presented at the symposium "Rembrandt & Printmaking: New Views on a Golden Age," Columbia University, New York, November 5, 2015 (publication forthcoming).
- Furlotti and Rebecchini 2008. Furlotti, Barbara, and Guido Rebecchini. *The Art of Mantua: Power and Patronage in the Renaissance*. Translated by A. Lawrence Jenkins. Los Angeles, 2008.
- Gabbard 1978. Gabbard, Krin. "From Virtus to Virtù: Centaurs in the Art and Literature of Fifth Century Greece and Renaissance Florence." PhD diss., Indiana University, 1978.
- Galichon 1861. Galichon, Émile. "Jacopo de Barbarj, dit le Maître au Caducée." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 11 (1861): 311–19; 445–58.
- Galichon 1862. Galichon, Émile. "Giulio Campagnola." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 13 (1862): 337.
- Galichon 1865. Galichon, Émile. "Du quelques estampes milanaises attribués à Cesare da Sesto." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (1865): 546–52.
- Gallonio 1600. Gallonio, Antonio. *Vita P. Philippi Nerii Fiorentini Congregationis Oratorii Fundatoris*. Rome, 1600.
- Genette (1972) 1980. Genette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Ithaca, NY, 1980.
- Gentilini 1996. Gentilini, Giancarlo. "Un busto all'antica del Riccio e alcuni appunti sulla scultura in terracotta a Padova tra Quattro et Cinquecento." *Nuovi Studi* 1 (1996): 29–46.

- Gere 1966. Gere, John A. *Mostra di disegni degli Zuccari: Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, e Raffaellino da Reggio*. Florence, 1966.
- Gersaint 1751. Gersaint, E. F. *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt, mis au jour, avec les augmentations nécessaires, par les sieurs Helle & Glomy*. Paris, 1751.
- Giehlow 1902. Giehlow, Carl. "Poliziano und Dürer." *Die graphischen Künste* 25 (1902): 22–26.
- Gilbert 2015. Gilbert, Christopher J. "If This Statue Could Talk: Statuary Satire in the Pasquinade Tradition." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 18 (2015): 79–112.
- Gilson 2005. Gilson, Simon. *Dante and Renaissance Florence*. Cambridge, UK, 2005.
- Giometti 2011. Giometti, Cristiano. *Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia: Sculture in terracotta*. Vol. 4 of *Roma: Il Palazzo di Venezia e le sue collezioni di scultura*. Rome, 2011.
- Gramberg 1960. Gramberg, Werner. "Guglielmo della Porta, Coppe Fiammingo und Antonio Gentili da Faenza." *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 5 (1960): 31–52.
- Gramberg 1984. Gramberg, Werner. "Guglielmo della Porta Grabmal für Paul III. Farnese in San Pietro in Vaticano." *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984): 253–64.
- Greenblatt 1983. Greenblatt, Stephen. "Murdering Peasants: Status, Genre, and the Representation of Rebellion." *Representations* 1 (February 1983): 1–29.
- Gregg 2015. Gregg, Ryan E. "Authority and Invention: Castiglione and the Reception of the St. Louis Reclining Pan." *The Seventeenth Century* 30 (2015): 1–32.
- Gregory 2012. Gregory, Sharon. *Vasari and the Renaissance Print*. Farnham, UK, 2012.
- Grewe 1992. Grewe, Cordula. "Shaping Reality through the Fictive: Images of Women Spinning in the Northern Renaissance." *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 19, no. 1/2 (1992): 6–19.
- Grigioni 1988. Grigioni, C. "Antonio Gentili detto Antonio da Faenza." *Romagna Arte e Storia* 8 (1988): 83–118.
- Grossman 2001. Grossman, Janet Burnett et al. *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures*. Los Angeles, 2001.
- Grothues 1992. Grothues, Bernhard. "Faust is een kabbalist: Een nieuwe verklaring van de zogenaamde Faust van Rembrandt." *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 44 (1992): 2–9.
- Guida Generale 1911. *Guida Generale delle mostre retrospettive in Castel Sant'Angelo*. Bergamo, It., 1911.
- Haarlem 2012. Niessen, Judith. *Cornelis van Haarlem, 1562–1638*. Rotterdam, 2012. Exh. cat.
- Hall & Knight 2001. Hall & Knight, Ltd. *MMI*. London, 2001. Exh. cat.
- Hall 2013. Hall, Edith. *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris: A Cultural History of Euripides' Black Sea Tragedy*. Oxford, 2013.
- Hamburg 1983–84. Hofmann, Werner. *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*. Munich, 1983. Exh. cat.
- Hamburg 2002. Müller, Jürgen et al. *Die Masken der Schönheit. Hendrick Goltzius und das Kunstideal um 1600*. Hamburg, 2002. Exh. cat.
- Hancock 1988. Hancock, Paula. "Transformations in the Iconography of the Mirror in Medieval Art." PhD diss., Emory University, 1988.
- Hartog 2002. den Hartog, Elizabeth. *Romanesque Sculpture in Maastricht*. Maastricht, Neth., 2002.
- Haskell 1971. Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy*. New York, 1971.
- Haskell and Penny 1981. Haskell, Francis, and Nicholas Penny. *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*. New Haven, CT, 1981.
- Hébert 1972. Hébert, Michèle. "L'œuvre du Maître de la décollation de Saint Jean Baptiste." *Nouvelle de l'estampe* 5 (1972): 58.
- Heineken 1778–90. Heineken, Carl Heinrich von. *Dictionnaire des artistes, dont nous avons des estampes, avec une notice détaillée de leurs ouvrages gravés*. Leipzig, 1778–90.
- Held 1980. Held, J. S. "Was Abraham Left-Handed?" *Print Collector's Newsletter* 11 (1980): 161–64.
- Henig 1997. Henig, Martin. "'Et in Arcadia Ego': Satyrs and Maenads in the Ancient World and Beyond." *Studies in the History of Art* 54 (1997): 22–31.
- Herodotus (440 BCE) 2007. Strassler, Robert B., ed. *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*. Translated by Andrea L. Purvis. New York, 2007.
- Heuer 2011. Heuer, Christopher P. "Dürer's Folds." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/60 (2011): 249–65.
- Hind 1910. Hind, Arthur M. *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London, 1910.
- Hind 1923. Hind, Arthur M. *A History of Engraving and Etching*. Boston, 1923.
- Hind 1938–48. Hind, Arthur M. *Early Italian Engraving: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproductions of All the Prints Described*. 7 vols. Vols. I–IV, London, 1938; vols. V–VII, London, 1948.
- Hinterding 2006. Hinterding, Erik. *Rembrandt as an Etcher: The Practice of Production and Distribution*. 3 vols. Ouderkerk an den IJssel, Neth., 2006.
- Hinterding 2008. Hinterding, Erik. *Rembrandt Etchings from the Frits Lugt Collection*. 2 vols. Paris, 2008.
- Hirschmann 1919. Hirschmann, O. *Hendrick Goltzius. Meister der Graphik*, vol. 7. Leipzig, 1919.
- Hollstein. Hollstein, F. W. H. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*. Amsterdam, 1949–.
- Hollstein. Hollstein, F. W. H. *German Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*. Amsterdam, 1954–.
- De Hoop Scheffer and Boon 1971. Scheffer, D. de Hoop, and Karel G. Boon. "De inventaris- lijst van Clement de Jonghe en Rembrandts etsplaten." *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 25 (1971): 1–17.
- Houston-London 2001. Boucher, Bruce, ed. *Earth and Fire: Italian Terracotta Sculpture from Donatello to Canova*. London, 2001. Exh. cat.
- Howard 1991. Howard, Seymour. "Ancient Busts and the Cavaceppi and Albacini Casts." *Journal of the History of Collections* 3 (1991), 199–217.
- Huelsen 1921. "Das *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* des Antonio Lafreri." In *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki bibliopolae Florentino*, 121–70. Edited by Ludwig Bertalot. Munich, 1921.
- Huemer 1979. Huemer, Frances. "A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens." *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 562–74.
- Hulme 1907. Hulme, William Henry. *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*. London, 1907.
- Israel 1995. Israel, Jonathan I. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806*. Oxford, 1995.
- James 1926. James, Montague Rhodes. *The Apocryphal New Testament being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses*. Oxford, 1926.
- Jestaz 1975. Jestaz, Bertrand. "Un Bronze inédit de Riccio." *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 225 (1975): 156 ff.
- Joannides 2001. Joannides, Paul. *Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius*. New Haven, CT, 2001.

- Jones 2006. Jones, Prudence. *Cleopatra: A Sourcebook*. Norman, OK, 2006.
- Jones and Penny 1983. Jones, Roger, and Nicholas Penny. *Raphael*. New Haven, CT, 1983.
- Kantor 2000. Kantor, Jordan. *Dürer's Passions*. With a foreword by Joseph Leo Koerner. Cambridge, MA, 2000.
- Katzenellenbogen 1989. Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*. Toronto, 1989.
- Kliman 1982. Kliman, Eve Twose. "Delacroix's Lions and Tigers: A Link between Man and Nature." *Art Bulletin* 64 (September 1982): 446–66.
- Koerner 1993. Koerner, Joseph Leo. *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*. Chicago, 1993.
- Körte 1932. Körte, Werner. "Verlorene Frühwerke des Federico Zuccari in Rom." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3 (1932): 8, 518–29.
- Kristeller 1896. Kristeller, Paul. *Engravings and Woodcuts by Jacopo de' Barbari*. Berlin, 1896.
- Kristeller 1901. Kristeller, Paul. *Andrea Mantegna*. London, 1901.
- Kristeller 1907. Kristeller, Paul. *Giulio Campagnola, Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen*. Berlin, 1907.
- Kristeller 1913. Kristeller, Paul. *Die lombardische Graphik der Renaissance*. Berlin, 1913.
- Kunzle 2001. Kunzle, David. "Spanish Herod, Dutch Innocents: Bruegel's *Massacres of the Innocents* in Their Sixteenth-Century Political Contexts." *Art History* 24 (March 2001): 51–82.
- Kunzle 2002. Kunzle, David. *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art, 1550–1672*. Leiden, 2002.
- La Corte Cailler 1900. La Corte Cailler, Gaetano. "Il Ciborio nella Certosa di S. Stefano del Bosco in Calabria e una lettera inedita del Conte Vito Capialbi." *Rivista Abruzzese di scienze, lettere ed arti* 15 (1900): 497.
- Lambert 1999. Lambert, Gisèle. *Les premières gravures italiennes. Quattrocento – début de cinquecento. Inventaire de la collection du département des Estampes et de la Photographie*. Paris, 1999.
- Landau and Parshall 1994. Landau, David, and Peter W. Parshall. *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550*. New Haven, CT, 1994.
- Lasinio 1812. Lasinio, Carlo. *Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa*. Florence, 1812.
- Lavin 1955. Lavin, Irving. "The Bozzetti of Gianlorenzo Bernini." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1955.
- Lawrence-Chapel Hill-Wellesley 1981–82. Shoemaker, Innis H., and Elizabeth Broun. *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*. Lawrence, KS, 1981. Exh. cat.
- Leendertz 1921. Leendertz, P. "Nederlandsche Faust-illustratie." *Oud Holland* 39 (1921): 132–48.
- Leendertz 1923–24. Leendertz, P. "Rembrandt's Faust en Medea." *Oud Holland* 41 (1923–24): 14–18, 68–82.
- Lehmann and Ettlinger 1958. Lehmann, O. H., and E. Ettlinger. "Contributions of the Interpretation of Rembrandt's Etching Known as *Faust in His Studio*." *The Connoisseur* 141 (1958): 118–19.
- Lehmann and Roodenburg 2008. Lehmann, Ann-Sophie, and Herman Roodenburg, eds. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art)* 58 (2007–8).
- Leuschner 2005. Leuschner, Eckhard. *Antonio Tempesta: Ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung*. Petersberg, Ger., 2005.
- Leuven-Paris 2013. Van Grieken, Joris, Ger Luijten, and Jan Van der Stock. *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*. Leuven, 2013. Exh. cat.
- Levenson 1978. Levenson, Jay A. "Jacopo de' Barbari and Northern Art of the Early Sixteenth Century." PhD diss., New York University, 1978.
- Lightbown 1986. Lightbown, Ronald. *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, and Prints*. Berkeley, CA, 1986.
- Limouze 1989. Limouze, Dorothy. "Aegidius Sadeler, Imperial Printmaker." *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 85 (1989): 1, 3–24.
- Limouze 1990. Limouze, Dorothy. "Aegidius Sadeler: Drawings, Prints, and Art Theory." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990.
- Lincoln 2000. Lincoln, Evelyn. *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*. New Haven, CT, 2000.
- Lingo 2002. Lingo, Estelle. "The Greek Manner and a Christian 'Canon': François Duquesnoy's 'Saint Susanna'." *Art Bulletin* 84 (March 2002): 65–93.
- Linzeler and Adhémar 1932. Linzeler, André, and Jean Adhémar. *Inventaire du fonds français; graveurs du seizième siècle*. 2 vols. Paris, 1932.
- Lippincott 1981. Lippincott, Louise W. "The Unnatural History of Dragons." *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 77 (1981): 2–24.
- Loffredo 2013. Loffredo, Fernando. "Il Pan Barberini, Giacomo Cassignola e la scultura di marmi colorati nella cerchia di Pirro Ligorio." *Nuovi studi*, 19 (2013): 145–174.
- London 1913. Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Catalogue of a Collection of Italian Sculpture and Other Plastic Art of the Renaissance*. London, 1913.
- London 1979. Sotheby's London, *Old Master and English Drawings and European Bronzes from the Collection of Charles Rogers and the William Cotton Bequest on loan from the City Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth*, September 1979. Exh. cat.
- London 1983. Martineau, Jane, and Charles Hope, eds. *The Genius of Venice, 1500–1600*. London, 1983. Exh. cat.
- London 2002. Bartrum, Giulia, ed. *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*. London, 2002.
- London-Florence 2010–11. Chapman, Hugo, and Marzia Faietti. *Fra Angelico to Leonardo: Italian Renaissance Drawings*. London, 2010. Exh. cat.
- London-New York 1992. Martineau, Jane, ed. *Andrea Mantegna*. London, 1992. Exh. cat.
- London-New York 2012–13. Bailey, Colin B., and Stephanie Buck, eds. *Master Drawings from The Courtauld Gallery*. London, 2012.
- Los Angeles 1988. Davis, Bruce. *Mannerist Prints: International Style in the Sixteenth Century*. Los Angeles, 1988. Exh. cat.
- Luchinat 1998. Luchinat, Cristina Acidini. *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*. Milan, 1998.
- Luchs 1995. Luchs, Alison. *Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490–1530*. Cambridge, MA, 1995.
- Lucian (c. 120–200) 1913. Lucian of Samosata. "Slander." In *Lucian*, vol. I, 359–94. Translated by A. M. Harmon. London, 1913.
- Lugt 1921. Lugt, Frits. *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes*. Amsterdam, 1921.
- Lugt 1956. Lugt, Frits. *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes*. Amsterdam, 1956.
- Lugt 2010. *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes*. Online edition compiled and edited by the Fondation Custodia. <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr/>.
- Lynch 1982. Lynch, Terence. "The Geometric Body in Dürer's Engraving *Melencolia I*." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 226–32.
- Maastricht-Bruges 2002–3. van der Sman, Gert Jan. *Le siècle de Titien: Gravures vénitiennes de la Renaissance*. Zwolle, Neth., 2003. Exh. cat.

- MacDougall 1975.** MacDougall, Elisabeth B. "The Sleeping Nymph: Origins of a Humanist Fountain Type." *Art Bulletin* 57 (September 1975): 357–65.
- Machida-Chiba 1993.** Laurentius, Theo. *Rembrandt's Etchings in a New Light*. Zwolle, Neth.: 1993. Exh. cat.
- Malvasia (1678) 1841.** Malvasia, Carlo Cesare. *Felsina pittrice: vite de' pittori bolognesi*. Bologna, 1841.
- Manca 2006.** Manca, Joseph. *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance*. New York, 2006.
- Mann 1931.** Mann, J. G. *Wallace Collection Catalogues: Sculpture*. London, 1931.
- Mantua 2008.** Trevisani, Filippo, and Davide Gasparotto. *Bonacolsi l'antico: Uno Scultore nella Mantova di Andrea Mantegna e di Isabella d'Este*. Mantua, 2008. Exh. cat.
- Manzini 1637.** Manzini, Luigi. *Applausi festivi fatti in Roma per l'elezione di Ferdinando III. al regno de' Romani*. Rome, 1637.
- Mariette 1857–58.** Mariette, P. J. *Abecedario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes. Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits autographes conservés au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 4. Paris, 1857–58.
- Mariette 1968.** Mariette, P. J. "Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé des Ghisi." *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 9 (1968): 367–85.
- Masi 1974.** Masi, Michael. *Boethius and the Iconography of the Liberal Arts*. Brussels, 1974.
- Massing 1990.** Massing, Jean-Michel. *La Calomnie d'Apelle et son iconographie: Du texte à l'image*. Strasbourg, 1990.
- Mauro 1556.** Mauro, Lucio, *Le Antichità della Città di Roma*, Venice, 1556.
- Mayor 1937.** Mayor, H. Hyatt. "Giulio Campagnola." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 32 (August 1937): 192–96.
- McIntosh McHenry 1989.** McIntosh McHenry, Deni. "Rembrandt's *Faust* in His Study Reconsidered: A Record of Jewish Patronage and Mysticism in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam." *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 8 (1989): 8–19.
- McMahon 1934.** McMahon, A. Philip. "The Rockefeller McCormick Tapestries: Three Early Sixteenth Century Tapestries. With a Discussion of the History of the Tree of Life." *Parnassus* 6 (March 1934): 24–25.
- Meder 1932.** Meder, Joseph. *Dürer-Katalog: Ein Handbuch über Albrecht Dürers Stiche, Radierungen, Holzschnitte, deren Zustände, Ausgaben und Wasserzeichen*. Vienna, 1932.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art 1984.** Draper, James, ed. *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1984.
- Mettingen 2012.** Kordhanke, M. et al., eds. *Over de schoonheid van precisie. Een fascinerende kijk op boekkunst en grafiek met de Liberna Collectie*. Mettingen, Ger., 2012. Exh. cat.
- Metze et al. 2013.** Metze, Gudula et al. *Ars Nova: Frühe Kupferstiche aus Italien, Katalog der italienischen Kupferstiche von den Anfängen bis um 1530 in der Sammlung des Dresdener Kupferstich-Kabinetts*. Petersberg, Ger., 2013.
- Meyer zur Capellen 2005.** Meyer zur Capellen, Jürg. *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings. The Roman Religious Paintings, c. 1508–1520*. Landshut, Ger., 2005.
- Milan 2003.** Di Lorenzo, Andrea, ed. *Deux collectionneurs a la découverte de l'Italie. Peintures et sculptures du Musée Jacquemart André de Paris*. Milan, 2003. Exh. cat.
- Milan 2015.** Settis, Salvatore, with Anna Anguissola and Davide Gasparotto, eds. *Serial/Portable Classic: The Greek Canon and Its Mutations*. Milan, 2015. Exh. cat.
- Miller 1999.** Miller, Elizabeth. *16th-Century Italian Ornament Prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London, 1999.
- Moltesen 2002.** Moltesen, Mette et al. *Imperial Rome II: Statues*. Copenhagen, 2002.
- Montagu 1977.** Montagu, Jennifer. "Alessandro Algardi and the Statue of St. Philip Neri." *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 22 (1977): 75–100.
- Montagu 1985.** Montagu, Jennifer. *Alessandro Algardi*. 2 vols. London, 1985.
- Montagu 1989.** Montagu, Jennifer. *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*. New Haven, CT, 1989.
- Montgomery 1999.** Kuretsky, Susan D. et al. *Rembrandt, Beyond the Brush: Master Prints from the Weil Collection*. Montgomery, AL, 1999. Exh. cat.
- Morford and Lenardon 1999.** Morford, Mark, and Robert J. Lenardon. *Classical Mythology*. New York, 1999.
- Morrone (1792) 1812.** Morrone, Alessandro. *Da. Pisa illustrate nelle arti del disegno*. Livorno, 1812.
- Möseneder 1986.** Möseneder, Karl. "Blickende Dinge: Anthropomorphes bei Albrecht Dürer." *Pantheon* 44 (1986): 15–23.
- Mundy and Ourusoff De Fernandez-Gimenez 1989.** Mundy, E. James, and Elizabeth Ourusoff De Fernandez-Gimenez. *Renaissance into Baroque: Italian Master Drawings by the Zuccari, 1550–1600*. Milwaukee, 1989.
- Munich 1982.** Renger, Konrad, and Dorothea Schmidt. *Graphik in Holland. Esaias und Jan van de Velde, Rembrandt, Ostade und ihr Kreis. Radierung, Kupferstich, Schabkunst*. Munich, 1982. Exh. cat.
- Munich 2015.** *Bella Figura: Europäische Bronzekunst in Süddeutschland um 1600*. Munich, 2015. Exh. cat.
- Mysok 1999.** Mysok, Johannes. *Bildhauerische Konzeption und plastisches Modell in der Renaissance*. Münster, 1999.
- Nagler 1840.** Nagler, Georg Kaspar. *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon; oder Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Formschneider, Lithographen, Zeichner, Medailleure, Elfenbeinarbeiter, etc.* Munich, 1840.
- Nassar 1994.** Nassar, Eugene Paul. *Illustrations to Dante's Inferno*. Rutherford, NJ, 1994.
- New Hollstein.** *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*. Rotterdam and Oudekerk an den IJssel, Neth., 1996–.
- New York 1980.** Husband, Timothy, and Gloria Gilmore-House. *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*. New York, 1980. Exh. cat.
- New York 1982.** *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*. New York, 1982. Exh. cat.
- New York 1985.** *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*. New York, 1985. Exh. cat.
- New York 2003.** Bambach, Carmen C., ed. *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*. New York, 2003. Exh. cat.
- New York 2014.** Metzler, Sally. *Bartholomeus Spranger: Splendor and Eroticism in Imperial Prague*. New Haven, CT, 2014. Exh. cat.
- New York 2015.** Fucci, Robert. *Rembrandt's Changing Impressions*. New York, 2015. Exh. cat.
- New York 2016a.** Baum, Kelly, Andrea Bayer, and Sheila Wagstaff, et al. *Unfinished: Thoughts Left Visible*. New York, 2016. Exh. cat.
- New York 2016b.** Picón, Carlos A., and Seán Hemingway. *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*. New York, 2016. Exh. cat.
- New York-Fort Worth 2012.** Dickerson, C. D., III, Anthony Sigel, and Ian Wardropper, eds. *Bernini: Sculpting in Clay*. New York, 2012. Exh. cat.
- Nowell-Usticke 1967.** Nowell-Usticke, Gordon W. *Rembrandt's Etchings: States and Values*. New York, 1967.
- Nuremberg 1971.** Strieder, Pieter, and Arno Schönberger, eds. *Albrecht Dürer 1471/1971*. Munich, 1971.

- Nuremberg 2000. Mende, Matthias et al. *Albrecht Dürer: Ein Künstler in seiner Stadt*. Nuremberg, 2000. Exh. cat.
- Ortenzi 2006. Ortenzi, Francesco. "Per Il Giovane Francesco da Sangallo," *Nuovi Studi: Rivista di Arte Antica e Moderna*, 12 (2006): 71-82.
- Ottley 1816. Ottley, William Young. *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*. London, 1816.
- Panarello 2012. Panarello, Mario. *Fanzago e i Fanzaghiani in Calabria. Il circuito artistico tra Roma, Napoli e la Sicilia*. Catanzaro, It., 2012.
- Pane 1975. Pane, Roberto. *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*. 2 vols. Milan, 1975-77.
- Panofsky 1920. Panofsky, Erwin. "Dürers Darstellungen des Apollo und ihr Verhältnis zu Barbari." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 41 (1920): 359-77.
- Panofsky 1939. Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York, 1939.
- Panofsky 1943. Panofsky, Erwin. *Albrecht Dürer*. 2 vols. Princeton, NJ, 1943.
- Panofsky (1955) 1971. Panofsky, Erwin. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. Princeton, NJ, 1971.
- Panofsky 1956. Panofsky, Erwin, and Dora. *Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol*. New York, 1956.
- Panofsky 1962. Panofsky, Erwin. "'Virgo et Victrix': A Note on Dürer's Nemesis." *Prints* 1 (1962): 13-38.
- Panofsky and Saxl 1923. Panofsky, Erwin, and Fritz Saxl. *Dürers Melencolia I. Eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Leipzig, 1923.
- Panoussi 2016. Panoussi, Vassiliki. "Spinning Hercules: Gender, Religion, and Geography in Propertius 4.9." *Classical World* 109 (Winter 2016): 179-94.
- Paris 1951. *Trésors d'art de la Vallée de la Meuse: art mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège*. Paris, 1951. Exh. cat.
- Paris 1986. Bussière, Sophie Renouard de. *Rembrandt. Eaux-fortes. Collection Dutuit*. Paris, 1986. Exh. cat.
- Paris 1993. Réunion des Musées Nationaux. *Le siècle de Titien: l'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*. Paris, 1993. Exh. cat.
- Paris 2000. Avery, Charles. *Giambologna: La Belle Endormie*. Galerie Piltzer, Paris, 2000. Exh. cat.
- Paris 2003. Garnier-Pelle, Nicole. *Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) et la gravure allemande: chefs-d'œuvre graphiques du Musée Condé à Chantilly, Institut de France*. Paris, 2003. Exh. cat.
- Paris 2006. Bussière, Sophie Renouard de. *Rembrandt. Eaux-fortes*. Paris, 2006. Exh. cat.
- Paris 2007. Sigal-Klagsbald, Laurence, ed. *Rembrandt et la Nouvelle Jérusalem: Juifs et Chrétiens à Amsterdam au siècle d'or*. Paris, 2007. Exh. cat.
- Paris 2008. Agosti, Giovanni, and Dominique Thiébaud. *Mantegna, 1431-1506*. Paris, 2008. Exh. cat.
- Paris-Philadelphia-Detroit 2011-12. DeWitt, Lloyd, ed. *Rembrandt and the Face of Jesus*. New Haven, CT, 2011. Exh. cat.
- Parker 1985. Parker, Geoffrey. *The Dutch Revolt*, rev. ed. London, 1985.
- Parker 1993. Parker, Deborah. *Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance*. Durham, NC, 1993.
- Parshall 1971. Parshall, Peter W. "Albrecht Dürer's Saint Jerome in His Study: A Philological Reference." *Art Bulletin* 53 (September 1971): 303-5.
- Parshall 2006. Parshall, Peter W. "Antonio Láfreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*." *Print Quarterly* 23 (2006): 3-28.
- Passavant 1860-64. Passavant, Johann D. *Le Peintre-Graveur*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1860-64.
- Peelen 1912. Peelen, Ida. "Italiaanische Kunst in Het Rijksmuseum: Verzameling van Professor D. O. Lanz." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 22 (July-December 1912): 1-10.
- Perfetti 2007. Perfetti, Stefano. "Philosophers and Animals in the Renaissance." In *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, 147-64. Edited by Bruce Boehrer. Oxford, 2007.
- Perlove 1994-96. Perlove, Shelley. "Awaiting the Messiah: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Late Work of Rembrandt." *Bulletin. The University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* 11 (1994-96): 84-113.
- Perlove and Silver 2009. Perlove, Shelley, and Larry Silver. *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age*. University Park, PA, 2009.
- Phillips 1955. Phillips, John Goldsmith. *Early Florentine Designers and Engravers: Maso Finiguerra, Baccio Baldini, Antonio Pollaiuolo, Sandro Botticelli [and] Francesco Rosselli. A Comparative Analysis of Early Florentine Nielli, Intarsias, Drawings, and Copperplate Engravings*. Cambridge, MA, 1955.
- Pisani 2009. Pisani, Domenico. "Il primo libro dei conti (1810-1836) della Regia Arciconfraternita di Maria SS. Addolorata di Serra San Bruno." *Esperide* 2 (2009): 3-4.
- Pit 1912. Pit, A. "Quattrocento-Plastik der Sammlung Lanz - Amsterdam." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 7 (1912): 39-57.
- Planiscig 1921. Planiscig, Leo. *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*. Vienna, 1921.
- Planiscig 1924. Planiscig, Leo. *Die Bronzplastiken, Stauetten, Reliefs, Geräte und Plaketten: Katalog mit den Abbildungen sämtlicher Stücke*. Vienna, 1924.
- Planiscig 1930. Planiscig, Leo. *Piccoli bronzi italiani del rinascimento*. Milan, 1930.
- Poesch 1964. Poesch, Jessie. "Sources for Two Dürer Enigmas." *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964): 78-86.
- Pon 2004. Pon, Lisa. *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print*. New Haven, CT, 2004.
- Pon 2009. "Further Musings on Raphael's Parnassus." In *Imitation, Representation and Printing in the Italian Renaissance, 191-207*. Edited by Magne Malmanger and Roy Eriksen. Rome, 2009.
- Pon 2015. Pon, Lisa. *A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire*. Cambridge, UK, 2015.
- Pope-Hennessy 1964. Pope-Hennessy, John. *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. 2 vols. London, 1964.
- Pope-Hennessy 1965. Pope-Hennessy, John. *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*. London, 1965.
- Popham and Pouncey 1950. Popham, Arthur E., and Philip Pouncey. *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. London, 1950.
- Popp 1928. Popp, Anny. *Leonardo da Vinci Zeichnungen*. Munich, 1928.
- Poughkeepsie 1995. Limouze, Dorothy, and Susan D. Kuretsky. *The Felix M. Warburg Print Collection: A Legacy of Discernment*. Poughkeepsie, NY, 1995. Exh. cat.
- Price 2003. Price, David Hotchkiss. *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith*. Ann Arbor, MI, 2003.
- Providence 2009. Peters, Emily J., with Evelyn Lincoln and Andrew Stein Raftery. *The Brilliant Line: Following the Early Modern Engraver, 1480-1650*. Providence, RI, 2009. Exh. cat.

- Radcliffe, Baker, and Maek-Gérard 1992. Radcliffe, Anthony, Malcolm Baker, and Michael Maek-Gérard, eds. *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Renaissance and Later Sculpture with Works of Art in Bronze*. London, 1992.
- Radke 1992. Radke, Gary M. "Benedetto da Maiano and the Use of Full Scale Preparatory Models in the Quattrocento." In *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, 217–24. Edited by Steven Bule, Alan Phipps Darr, and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi. Florence, 1992.
- Ramage 2002. Ramage, Nancy H. "Restorer and Collector: Notes on Eighteenth-Century Recreations of Roman Statues." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 1 (2002): 61–77.
- Raupp 1994. Raupp, Hans-Joachim. "Rembrandts Radierungen mit biblischen Themen 1640–1650 und das Hundertguldenblatt." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (1994): 403–20.
- Réau 1955–59. Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. 3 vols. Paris, 1955–59.
- Rehorst 1950. Rehorst, A. J. "Rembrandt's tooovercirkel, of zijn zoogenaamde Faust-prent." *Historia* 15 (1950): 3–7.
- Reid 1993. Reid, Jane Davidson. *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s*. New York, 1993.
- Rendina 1991. Rendina, Claudio. *Pasquino, statua parlante. Quattro secoli di pasquinate*. Rome, 1991.
- Reynolds 1985. Reynolds, Anne. "Cardinal Oliviero Carafa and the Early Cinquecento Tradition of the Feast of Pasquino." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34 (1985): 178–208.
- Reznicek 1961. Reznicek, Emil Karl Josef. *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*. 2 vols. Utrecht, 1961.
- Rice 1985. Rice, Eugene F., Jr. *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore, 1985.
- Rice 2015. Rice, John A. "Beyond the Saint Cecilia Legend and Liturgy: The Organ as Emblem." Chapter 2 of a projected monograph, *Saint Cecilia in the Renaissance: The Emergence of a Musical Icon*. This version posted on Academia.edu on Saint Cecilia's Day, November 22, 2015.
- Richardson 1722. Richardson, Jonathan, and Jonathan, Jr. *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, Etc. with Remarks*. London, 1722.
- Richter (1883) 1970. Richter, Jean Paul. *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci Compiled and Edited from the Original Manuscripts*. 2 vols. London, 1970.
- Robert-Dumesnil 1835–71. Robert-Dumesnil, A.P.F. *Le peintre-graveur français, où catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'école française*. 11 volumes. Paris, 1835–71.
- Roberts 1998. Roberts, Helene E., ed. *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*. Chicago, 1998.
- Rome 1980. Massari, Stefania. *Incisori mantovani del '500: Giovan Battista, Adamo, Diana Scultori e Giorgio Ghisi. Dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e della Calcografia Nazionale: catalogo*. Rome, 1980. Exh. cat.
- Rome 1995. Bernardini, Maria Grazia. *Tiziano: Amor Sacro e Amor Profano*. Milan, 1995. Exh. cat.
- Rome 1997. Lo Bianco, Anna, ed. *Pietro da Cortona: 1597–1669*. Rome, 1997.
- Rome 2000. Borea, Evelina, and Carlo Gasparri, eds. *L'idea del Bello: Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*. Rome, 2000. Exh. cat.
- Rome 2007. Fiore, Kristina Hermann. *Dürer e l'Italia*. Milan, 2007. Exh. cat.
- Rosand 1990. Rosand, David. "Ekphrasis and the Generation of Images." *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 1 (1990): 61–105.
- Rosand 2002. Rosand, David. *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation*. Cambridge, UK, 2002.
- Rosenberg 1968. Rosenberg, Jakob. *Rembrandt. Life & Work*. London, 1968.
- Rosenthal 2005. Rosenthal, Lisa. *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens*. New York, 2005.
- Rotermund 1957. Rotermund, Hans-Martin. "Untersuchungen zu Rembrandts Faustradierung." *Oud Holland* 72 (1957): 151–68.
- Rotterdam 1994. Sellink, Manfred. *Cornelis Cort, Constich plaedt-snijder van Horne in Hollandt*. Rotterdam, 1994. Exh. cat.
- Rotterdam 2006–7. van der Coelen, Peter. *Rembrandts Passie. Het Nieuwe Testament in de Nederlandse prentkunst van de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*. Rotterdam, 2006. Exh. cat.
- Rouillard 1986. Rouillard, Philippe. "A propos du catalogue de l'œuvre gravé de Giorgio Ghisi publié par Paolo Bellini." *Nouvelles de l'estampe* 166 (1986): 45–57.
- Royalton-Kisch 1993. Royalton-Kisch, Martin. "Rembrandt's Drawings for His Prints: Some Observations." In *Rembrandt and His Pupils: Papers given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 2–3 October 1992, 173–92*. Edited by Görel Cavalli-Björkman. Stockholm, 1993.
- Royalton-Kisch 2010. Royalton-Kisch, Martin. "Catalogue of Drawings by Rembrandt and His School in the British Museum." Accessed October 13, 2016. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/rembrandt_drawings/drawings_by_rembrandt.aspx.
- Rubsamen 1975. Rubsamen, Gisela. "Bernini and the Orsini Portrait Busts." In *Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions: 63rd Annual Meeting*, College Art Association of America, January 22–25, 1975, Washington, 92.
- Rupprich 1956–69. Rupprich, Hans, ed. *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1956–69.
- Ruskin 1906. Ruskin, John. *Modern Painters*. 6 vols. London, 1906.
- Salatino 1997. Salatino, Kevin. *Incendiary Art: Representation of Fireworks in Early Modern Europe*. Los Angeles, 1997.
- Salisbury 1994. Salisbury, Joyce E. *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1994.
- Salsi 1993. Salsi, Claudio. "Il sogno di Raffaello" di Giorgio Ghisi: Nuove indagini iconografiche." *Grafica d'arte* 4 (1993): 3–10, 13.
- San Juan 2001. San Juan, Rose Marie. *Rome: A City Out of Print*. Minneapolis, 2001.
- Sangiorgi 1932. Sangiorgi, Giorgio. "Opere di Antonio Gentili orifice faentino." *Bollettino d'Arte* 26 (November 1932): 220–29.
- Sant'Angelo 2010. Tonti, Davide, and Sara Bartolucci. *Sacro e profano: alla maniera degli Zuccari. Una dinastia di artisti Vadesi: Taddeo, Federico e Giovampietro Zuccari*. Sant'Angelo, It., 2010. Exh. cat.
- Sbriccoli 2005. Sbriccoli, Mario. "Droit et procès pénal dans les allégories de la Justice du Moyen Âge à l'âge modern." *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés* 9 (2005): 33–78.
- Schama 1987. Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. New York, 1987.
- Schama 1999. Schama, Simon. *Rembrandt's Eyes*. New York, 1999.
- Schatborn 2011. Schatborn, Peter. "The Core Group of Rembrandt Drawings, I: Overview." *Master Drawings* 49 (2011): 293–322.

- Schenck 1998. Schenck, Kimberly. "Goltzius's Use of Grey Ink." *Print Quarterly* 15 (June 1998): 186–90.
- Schiller 1972. Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*. Greenwich, CT, 1972.
- Schlegel 1981. Schlegel, Ursula. "I Crocifissi degli altari in San Pietro in Vaticano." *Antichità viva* 20 (November–December 1981): 37–42.
- Schlegel 1985. Schlegel, Ursula. "Bernini und Guido Reni." *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 27 (1985): 101–45.
- Schoch 2001. Schoch, Rainer, Matthias Mende, and Anna Scherbaum. *Albrecht Dürer: das druckgraphische Werk. Bd. 1: Kupferstiche, Eisenradierungen und Kaltnadelblätter*. Munich, 2001.
- Schoch 2002. Schoch, Rainer, Matthias Mende, and Anna Scherbaum. *Albrecht Dürer: das druckgraphische Werk. Bd. 2: Holzschnitte und Holzschnittfolgen*. Munich, 2002.
- Scholte 1941. Scholte, J. H. "Rembrandt's 'Faust' bij Goethe." *Oud Holland* 58 (1941): 75–84.
- Schulz 1987. Schulz, Anne Markham. "Four New Works by Antonio Minello." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31 (1987): 291–326.
- Schwartz 1985. Schwartz, Gary. *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings*. London, 1985.
- Schwartz 2006. Schwartz, Gary. *Rembrandt's Universe: His Art, His Life, His World*. London, 2006.
- Sénéchal 1987. Sénéchal, Philippe. *Les graveurs des Ecoles du Nord à Venise (1585–1620): les Sadeler: entremise et entreprise*. Paris, 1987.
- Shepard 1930. Shepard, Odell. *Lore of the Unicorn*. London, 1930.
- Signorini 1996. Signorini, Rodolfo. "New Findings about Andrea Mantegna: His Son Ludovico's Post-Mortem Inventory (1510)." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 103–18.
- Silver 2008. Silver, Larry. *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Princeton, NJ, 2008.
- Silver and Smith 2010. Silver, Larry, and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, eds. *The Essential Dürer*. Philadelphia, 2010.
- Van der Sman 2005. van der Sman, Gert Jan. "Dutch and Flemish Printmakers in Rome 1565–1600." *Print Quarterly* 22 (2005): 251–64.
- Van der Sman 2013. van der Sman, Gert Jan. "Shorter Notices: Girolamo Mocetto and the Antique." *Print Quarterly* 30 (2013): 165–70.
- Smets and van den Abeele 2007. Smets, An, and Baudouin van den Abeele. "Medieval Hunting." In *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, 59–79. Edited by Brigitte Resl. New York, 2007.
- Sotheby's London 1979. Sotheby's London, *Medieval, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque Works of Art*, Thursday, July 12, 1979.
- Sotheby's London 1993. Sotheby's London, *European Sculpture and Works of Art*, Thursday, December 9, 1993.
- Sotheby's London 1996. Sotheby's London, *European Sculpture and Works of Art from the collection formed by the British Rail Pension Fund*, Thursday, July 4, 1996.
- Sotheby's London 2004a. Sotheby's London, *European Sculpture & Works of Art 900–1900*, Friday, July 9, 2004.
- Sotheby's London 2004b. Sotheby's London, *Renaissance Furniture and Works of Art from Villa Ca' Del Sole, Capri*, October 28, 2004.
- Sotheby's New York 1995. Sotheby's New York, *Property from the Collection of Michael and Doris Zagayski: Sold to Benefit the Weizman Institute of Science*, Thursday, June 29, 1995.
- Sotheby's New York 1996. Sotheby's New York, *European Works of Art from the Private Collection and Gallery of the Blumka Estate*, January 9–10, 1996.
- South Hadley 1977. *Monsters, Gargoyles, and Dragons: Animals in the Middle Ages*. South Hadley, MA, 1977. Exh. cat.
- Spicer 1995. Spicer, Joaneath. *The Allure of Bronze: Masterpieces from the Walters Art Gallery*. Baltimore, 1995.
- Spiegel 1614 1992. Spiegel, Hendrick Laurenszoon. *Hert-Spiegel*. Annotated and with an introduction by Fokke Veenstra. Hilversum, Neth., 1992.
- St. Louis 1989. Ward, Roger, and Mark S. Weil. *Master Drawings from the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art*. St. Louis, 1989. Exh. cat.
- St. Louis 1997. Butts, Barbara, Tom Rassieur, and Mark S. Weil. *Men, Women, and God: German Renaissance Prints from St. Louis Collections*. St. Louis, 1997. Exh. cat.
- St. Louis 2006. Herndon-Consagra, Francesca, and Paul Crenshaw. *Rembrandt: Master Etchings from St. Louis Collections*. St. Louis, 2006. Exh. cat.
- Stanford 2016. Barryte, Bernard, ed. *Myth, Allegory, and Faith: The Kirk Edward Long Collection of Mannerist Prints*. Stanford, CA, 2016. Exh. cat.
- Stefaniak 1991. Stefaniak, Regina. "Raphael's Santa Cecilia: A Fine and Private Vision of Virginity." *Art History* 14 (1991): 345–71.
- Stenger 2006. Stenger, Jan. "Nemesis." In *Brill's New Pauly*. Edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Consulted online on October 28, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e819670>
- Stijnman 2002. Stijnman, Ad. *Engraving and Etching 1400–2000: A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes*. Houten, Neth., 2002.
- Van der Stock 1998. Van der Stock, Jan. *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585*. Rotterdam, 1998.
- Stogdon 1996. Stogdon, Nicholas. "Captain Baillie and The Hundred Guilder Print." *Print Quarterly* 13 (1996): 53–57.
- Stogdon 2011. Stogdon, Nicholas. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etchings by Rembrandt in a Private Collection, Switzerland*. Privately Printed, 2011.
- Stone 1981. Stone, Richard E. "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting in Italy at the End of the Quattrocento." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 16 (1981): 87–116.
- Stone 2006. Stone, Richard E. "Severo da Ravenna and the Indirectly Cast Bronze." *Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1245 (December 2006): 810–19.
- Storrs 1972. den Broeder, Frederick. *Hendrick Goltzius and the Printmakers of Haarlem*. Storrs, CT, 1972. Exh. cat.
- Strauss 1974. Strauss, Walter L., ed. *The Book of Hours of Maximilian the First*. London, 1974.
- Strauss 1976. Strauss, Walter L., ed. *The Intaglio Prints of Albrecht Dürer: Engravings, Etchings, and Drypoints*. New York, 1976.
- Van Thiel 1999. van Thiel, Pieter J. J. *Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, 1562–1638*. Translated by Diane L. Webb. Doornspijk, NL, 1999.
- TIB. *The Illustrated Bartsch*. Edited by Walter L. Strauss et al. New York, 1978–.
- Tiberia 2000. Tiberia, Vitaliano. *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Agostino Ciampelli in Santa Bibiana a Roma: I restauri*. Todi, It., 2000.
- Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928. Tietze, Hans, and Erika Tietze-Conrat. *Der junge Dürer. Verzeichnis der Werke bis zur venezianischen Reise im Jahre 1505*. Augsburg, 1928.
- Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937. Tietze, Hans, and Erika Tietze-Conrat. *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers, Bd. 2: Der reife Dürer. Von der venezianischen Reise im Jahre 1505 bis zur niederländischen Reise im Jahre 1520, nebst Nachträgen aus den Jahren 1492–1505*. Basel, 1937.

- Toccaceli 2005. Toccaceli, Luigi et al. *L'Allegoria della vita umana di Giorgio Ghisi: la percezione e la lettura del segno esemplificati in un'opera*. Milan, 2005.
- Tomasso Brothers 2010. Tomasso Brothers Fine Art, *SCULTURA III*, New York, 2010.
- Tomory 1992. Tomory, Peter. "Giorgio Ghisi's Dream of Raphael, or, the Melancholy of Michelangelo." *Storia dell'arte* 75 (1992): 165–75.
- Trinity Fine Art 1995. Trinity Fine Art, *An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings and European Works of Art*, New York, 1995.
- Trojani and Lambert 1985. Trojani, François, and Gisèle Lambert. *Suite d'estampes de la Renaissance italienne dite Tarots de Mantegna*. Garches, Fr., 1985.
- Tronson 1998. Tronson, Adrian. "Vergil, The Augustans, and the Invention of Cleopatra's Suicide—One Asp or Two?" *Vergilius* 44 (1998): 31–50.
- Tümpel 1986. Tümpel, Christian. *Rembrandt: Mythos und Methode*. With a contribution by Astrid Tümpel. Königstein im Taunus, Ger., 1986.
- Turin 1999. Keutner, Herbert. *Firenze 1592: Un nuovo Crocifisso in argento del Giambologna*. Turin, 1999. Exh. cat.
- Vasari 1550. Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*. Florence, 1568.
- Vasari (1568) 1964. Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, vol. 4. Edited by Aldo Rossi. Milan, 1964.
- Veldman 1986. Veldman, Ilja M. "Lessons for Ladies: a Selection of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16 (1986): 113–27.
- Veldman 2012. Veldman, Ilja M. "The 'Roman Sketchbooks' in Berlin and Maarten van Heemskerck's Travel Sketchbook." In *Rom Zeichnen. Maarten van Heemskerck 1532–1536/37*, 11–23. Edited by Tatjana Bartsch and Peter Seiler. Berlin, 2012.
- Venice 1991. Sergei Androssov, Sergei. *Alle origini di Canova: Le terrecotte della collezione Farsetti*. Venice, 1991. Exh. cat.
- Vienna 1971. Koschatzky, Walter, and Alice Strobl, eds. *Die Dürerzeichnungen der Albertina: zum 500. Geburtstag*. Vienna, 1971. Exh. cat.
- Vienna 1987. Hofmann, Werner, ed. *Zauber der Medusa. Europäische Manierismen*. Vienna, 1987. Exh. cat.
- Vienna 2003. Schröder, Klaus Albrecht, and Marie Luise Sternath, eds. *Albrecht Dürer*. Vienna, 2003. Exh. cat.
- Vienna-Washington 2013. Robison, Andrew, and Klaus Albrecht Schröder, eds. *Albrecht Dürer: Master Drawings, Watercolors, and Prints from the Albertina*. New York, 2013. Exh. cat.
- Vitzthum 1966. Vitzthum, W. "Review of *Mostra di disegni degli Zuccari (Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, e Raffaellino da Reggio)*." *Master Drawings* 4 (Autumn 1966): 311–13.
- Volbach 1948. Volbach, Wolfgang Fritz. "Antonio Gentili da Faenza and the Large Candlesticks in the Treasury of St. Peter's." *Burlington Magazine* 90, no. 547 (October 1948): 281–86.
- Voragine (1240) 2012. Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton, NJ, 2012.
- De Vries 1998. de Vries, Lyckle. "Rembrandt's ets B 270: Faust of Paulus?" *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1/2 (1998): 33–36.
- Van de Waal 1952. van de Waal, Henri. *Drie Eeuwen Vaderlandsche Geschied-Uitbeelding, 1500–1800: Een Iconologische Studie*. The Hague, 1952.
- Van de Waal 1964. van de Waal, Henri. "Rembrandt's Faust Etching, a Socinian Document and the Iconography of the Inspired Scholar." *Oud Holland* 79 (1964): 7–48.
- Warnecke 1979. Warnecke, Carsten-Peter. *Die ornamentale Grotteske in Deutschland, 1500–1650*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1979.
- Warsaw 1990. Grabski, Józef, ed. *Opus Sacrum: From the Collection of Barbara Piacessa Johnson, the Royal Castle in Warsaw*. Vienna, 1990. Exh. cat.
- Washington 1971. Talbot, Charles W., ed. *Dürer in America: His Graphic Work*. Washington, 1971. Exh. cat.
- Washington 1973. Levenson, Jay A., Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn Sheehan. *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*. Washington, 1973.
- Washington 1986. Leithe-Jasper, Manfred. *Renaissance Master Bronzes: From the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*. Washington, 1986. Exh. cat.
- Washington 1988. Cafritz, Robert, ed., et al. *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape*. Washington, 1988. Exh. cat.
- Washington 2001. Parshall, Peter W., Stacey Sell, and Judith Brodie. *The Unfinished Print*. Washington, 2001. Exh. cat.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly 2002. Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen. "Early Modern European Festivals: Politics and Performance, Event and Record." In *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, 15–25. Edited by J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring. Aldershot, UK, 2002.
- Weaver 2012. Weaver, Andrew. *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III*. Surrey, UK, 2012.
- Weber 1970. Weber, Ingrid. "Bildvorlagen für Silberreliefs an Arbeiten von Paul Hübner und Cornelius Erb, Heute im Palazzo Pitti und im Britischen Museum. Eine Studie zur Arbeitsweise in nachmittelalterlichen Goldschmiedewerkstätten." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (June 1970): 323–68.
- Weber 1975. Weber, Ingrid. *Deutsche, niederländische und französische Renaissance-plaketten 1500–1650*. Munich, 1975.
- Weil 1974. Weil, Mark S. "The Devotion of Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218–48.
- Weil 2015. Weil, Mark S. "A Terracotta Bust of a Woman or an Angel by Gian Lorenzo Bernini or Antonio Giorgetti." In *The Eternal Baroque: Studies in Honor of Jennifer Montagu*, 437–44. Edited by Carolyn H. Minor et al. Milan, 2015.
- Welch 2005. Welch, Evelyn. *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400–1600*. New Haven, CT, 2005.
- Welch 2009. Welch, Evelyn. "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Studies* 23 (2009): 241–68.
- Wellesley-New Haven-Philadelphia 2008–9. Silver, Larry, and Elizabeth Wyckoff, eds. *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints from the Age of Dürer and Titian*. Wellesley, MA, 2008. Exh. cat.
- Wengraf 2014. Wengraf, Patricia. *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Hill Collection*. London, 2014.
- Wessely 1878. Wessely, Joseph Eduard. "Paul Flindt." In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 7, 123. Edited by the Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences. Leipzig: 1878.
- Wheelock 1983. Wheelock, A. K. "The Influence of Lucas van Leyden on Rembrandt's Narrative Etchings." In *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday*, 291–96. Doornspijk, Neth., 1983.
- White 1969. White, Christopher. *Rembrandt as an Etcher. A Study of the Artist at Work*. University Park, PA, 1969.
- Williamson 1998. Williamson, Beth. "The Virgin Lactans as Second Eve: Image of the 'Salvatrix'." *Studies in Iconography* 19 (1998): 105–38.
- Williamstown-Madison-Lawrence 2001. Goddard, Stephen H., and James A. Ganz. *Goltzius & The Third Dimension*. Williamstown, MA, 2001. Exh. cat.

- Winkler 1892.** Winkler, August. "Die Gefäß- und Punzenstecher der deutschen Hochrenaissance." *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 13 (1892): 93–107.
- Winkler 1936–39.** Winkler, Friedrich von. *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*. Berlin, 1936–39.
- Witcombe 2004.** Witcombe, Christopher L. C. E. *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*. Leiden, 2004.
- Wittkower 1955.** Wittkower, Rudolf. *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*. London, 1955.
- Wittkower 1966.** Wittkower, Rudolf. *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 2nd ed. London, 1966.
- Wittkower 1981.** Wittkower, Rudolf. *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 3rd ed. revised by Howard Hibbard, Thomas Martin, and Margot Wittkower. Oxford, 1981.
- Wittkower 1997.** Wittkower, Rudolf. *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 4th ed. London, 1997.
- Wölfflin 1905.** Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*. Munich, 1905.
- Woodring 2007.** Woodring, Carl. "Centaurs Unnaturally Fabulous." *Wordsworth Circle* 38 (Winter/Spring 2007): 4–12.
- Zagala 2010.** Zagala, Maria. *A Beautiful Line: Italian Prints from Mantegna to Piranesi*. Adelaide, Aus., 2010. Exh. cat.
- Zdanski 1992.** Zdanski, Clarice. "The Art and Humanistic Background of Giulio Campagnola." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1992.
- Zell 2002a.** Zell, Michael. *Reframing Rembrandt: Jews and the Christian Image in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*. Berkeley, CA, 2002.
- Zell 2002b.** Zell, Michael. "The Gift among Friends: Rembrandt's Art in the Network of His Patronal and Social Relations." In *Rethinking Rembrandt*, 173–94. Edited by Alan Chong and Michael Zell. Zwolle, Neth., 2002.
- Zerner 1962.** Zerner, Henri. "Qu'est-ce qu'une estampe originale?" *L'œil: Revue d'art mensuelle* 93 (1962): 16–23.
- Zirpolo 1991–92.** Zirpolo, Lilian. "Botticelli's 'Primavera': A Lesson for the Bride." *Woman's Art Journal* 12 (Autumn 1991–Winter 1992): 24–28.
- Zock 2001.** Zock, Katherine. *European Sculpture*, Daniel Katz, Ltd., London and New York, 2001.
- Zock 2002.** Zock, Katherine. *European Sculpture*, Daniel Katz, Ltd., London, 2002.
- Zucker 1990.** Zucker, Mark J. "Fine Manner vs. Broad Manner in Two Fifteenth-Century Florentine Engravings." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 25 (1990): 21–26.
- Zurich 1998.** Matile, Michael. *Frühe italienische Druckgraphik 1460–1530: Bestandskatalog der Graphischen Sammlung der ETH Zürich*. Zurich, 1998. Exh. cat.

Checklist of the Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust

The credit line for all works in the checklist is Mark S. Weil Artwork 2011 Irrevocable Trust, Promised gift of Phoebe Dent Weil and Mark S. Weil.

Works in the exhibition are identified with a catalogue number in parentheses.

For works on paper, only the image dimensions are given. Sculpture dimensions are given without the base, unless other noted.

DRAWINGS AND WATERCOLORS

Alessandro Algardi, Italian, 1598–1654

1. *Design for a Frame Decorated with Putti and Atlantes*, n.d.; black chalk, pen, brown ink, and brown wash; 8 7/8 × 5 11/16 in. (22.5 × 14.4 cm); Weil Trust 59

Alberto Giacometti, Swiss, 1901–1966

2. *Still Life Flanked by a Byzantine Head and a Japanese Head (recto) and Still Life, preparatory for recto (verso)*, n.d.; graphite; 12 5/8 × 19 11/16 in. (32.1 × 50 cm); Weil Trust 1

Italian, 16th century

3. *Study of Pan*, after the antique, n.d.; pen, brown ink, and wash over traces of black chalk; 16 13/16 × 8 1/8 in. (42.7 × 20.7 cm); Weil Trust 154 (cat. 15)

Filippo Juvarra, Italian (active Italy and Spain), 1678–1736

4. *A Courtyard: Design for the Stage*, n.d.; black chalk, pen, brown ink, and gray wash; sheet: 8 × 7 5/8 in. (20.3 × 19.4 cm); Weil Trust 21

Henri Matisse, French, 1869–1954

5. *Artist and Model in His Studio*, 1937; pen and ink; 11 1/8 × 14 15/16 in. (28.3 × 37.9 cm); Weil Trust 62

circle of Giulio Parigi, Italian, 1571–1635

6. *Stage Design for a Scene in the Underworld*, n.d.; pen, brown ink, and wash over traces of black chalk; 7 5/8 × 9 3/4 in. (19.4 × 24.8 cm); Weil Trust 17 (cat. 22)

attributed to Hubert Robert, French, 1733–1808

7. *Landscape with a Fortified Town on a Rocky Plateau*, c. 1785–87; red chalk; 9 1/4 × 15 1/16 in. (23.5 × 38.3 cm); Weil Trust 14

Johann Paul Schor, Austrian (active Italy), 1615–1674

8. *Design for the Back of a Coach*, 1673; brown ink and wash; 11 3/8 × 7 1/8 in. (28.9 × 18.1 cm); Weil Trust 76

PAINTINGS

Giacinto Gimignani, Italian, 1606–1681

9. *Allegory of the Four Seasons*, 1650s; oil on canvas; 48 × 66 1/2 in. (121.9 × 168.9 cm); Weil Trust 122

PRINTS

Baccio Baldini, Italian, 1436–1487

10. *Bear Hunt*, c. 1470; engraving; trimmed: 11 3/16 × 7 15/16 in. (28.4 × 20.2 cm); Weil Trust 100 (cat. 9)

attributed to Baccio Baldini, Italian, 1436–1487

11. *Dante Lost in a Wood: Escaping and Meeting Virgil*, illustration for Canto I from *The Divine Comedy* (Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii, 1481); engraving; 3 3/4 × 6 3/4 in. (9.5 × 17.1 cm); Weil Trust 30 (cat. 4)

Jacopo de' Barbari, Italian, 1440–1515

12. *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1503; engraving; 8 7/8 × 6 9/16 in. (22.5 × 16.7 cm); Weil Trust 88

13. *Three Captives*, c. 1503–4; engraving;

6 3/4 × 3 15/16 in. (17.1 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 90

14. *Mars and Venus*, c. 1509–10; engraving;

11 1/2 × 7 1/8 in. (29.2 × 18.1 cm);

Weil Trust 89 (cat. 47)

Domenico del Barbieri, Italian (active France), c. 1506–c. 1570; after Francesco Primaticcio, Italian, 1504–1570

15. *Banquet of Alexander the Great*, c. 1540–50; engraving; 9 7/8 × 14 3/16 in. (25.1 × 36.1 cm); Weil Trust 115

Stefano della Bella, Italian, 1610–1664

16. *First Scene, in Florence*, theatrical scene from *The Marriage of the Gods*, 1637; etching; 7 5/16 × 11 1/4 in. (18.6 × 28.6 cm); Weil Trust 9

Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Italian, active c. 1490–1525; after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

17. *The Bacchanal with Silenus*, n.d.; engraving; 12 1/16 × 17 7/16 in. (30.7 × 44.3 cm); Weil Trust 113

18. *Alma Justitia (Justice)*, n.d.; engraving;

12 7/16 × 6 13/16 in. (31.6 × 17.3 cm);

Weil Trust 126 (cat. 6)

Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Italian, active c. 1490–1525; after Baldassare Peruzzi, Italian, 1481–1536

19. *The Discovery of Joseph's Cup*, c. 1520–25; engraving; 6 3/4 × 10 13/16 in. (17.1 × 27.5 cm); Weil Trust 119

attributed to Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Italian, active c. 1490–1525; after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

20. *Virtus Combusta (Allegory of the Fall of Humanity)* and *Virtus Deserta (Allegory of the Redemption of Humanity)*, c. 1500–1505; engravings; upper: 11 3/4 × 17 1/16 in. (29.8 × 43.3 cm), lower, trimmed: 11 3/4 × 17 1/8 in. (29.8 × 43.5 cm); Weil Trust 147 (cat. 7)

Domenico Campagnola, Italian, 1500–1564

21. *Shepherd and an Old Warrior*, c. 1517; engraving; 5 1/4 × 3 3/4 in. (13.3 × 9.5 cm); Weil Trust 99

22. *The Beheading of Saint Catherine*, 1517;

engraving; 7 3/8 × 6 7/8 in. (18.7 × 17.5 cm);

Weil Trust 98

Giulio Campagnola, Italian, c. 1482–after 1515

23. *Young Shepherd*, c. 1509; engraving; 5 5/16 × 3 1/8 in. (13.5 × 7.9 cm); Weil Trust 96 (cat. 2)

24. *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, c. 1510; engraving, first state; trimmed: 5 3/16 × 7 3/8 in. (13.2 × 18.7 cm); Weil Trust 97 (cat. 32)

25. *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, c. 1510; engraving, second state; 5 3/16 × 7 7/16 in. (13.2 × 18.9 cm); Weil Trust 56 (cat. 33)

Giulio Campagnola, Italian, c. 1482–after 1515 and Domenico Campagnola, Italian, c. 1500–1564;

26. *Shepherds in a Landscape*, c. 1517; engraving; 5 5/16 × 10 1/8 in. (13.5 × 25.7 cm); Weil Trust 33 (cat. 3)

Canaletto (Giovanni Antonio Canal), Italian, 1697–1768

27. *The Waggon Passing over a Bridge*, n.d.; etching; 5 5/8 × 4 15/16 in. (14.3 × 12.5 cm); Weil Trust 15

28. *The Little Monument*, n.d.; etching; 4 11/16 × 3 5/16 in. (11.9 × 8.4 cm); Weil Trust 15

Agostino Carracci, Italian, 1557–1602

29. *A Headpiece in the Form of a Fan*, 1589–95; engraving; trimmed: 14 3/16 × 9 5/8 in. (36 × 24.4 cm); Weil Trust 32 (cat. 39)

Nicolò della Casa, Italian (born France), active 1543–1548

30. *Portrait of the Sculptor Baccio Bandinelli in His Workshop*, n.d.; engraving; 16 7/8 × 12 15/16 in. (42.9 × 32.9 cm); Weil Trust 156 (cat. 61)

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, Italian, 1609–1664

31. *Circe Changing the Companions of Ulysses into Beasts*, n.d.; etching; 8 3/8 × 5 1/2 in. (21.3 × 14 cm); Weil Trust 3

32. *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, c. 1645–49; etching; 8 7/8 × 12 3/8 in. (22.5 × 31.4 cm); Weil Trust 4

Luca Ciamberlano, Italian, 1586–1641; after

Niccolo Tornioli, Italian, 1598–1651 or 1652

33. *Pyrotechnic Machine*, 2 illustrations from Luigi Manzini, *Applausi festivi fatti in Roma per l'elezione di Ferdinando III al regno de' Romani*; (Rome: Pietro Antonio Facciotti, 1637); 2 etchings with engraving; a: 14 1/16 × 9 1/8 in. (35.7 × 23.2 cm), b: 13 13/16 × 9 in. (35.1 × 22.9 cm); Weil Trust 164 a–b (cats. 41a–b)

Cornelis Cort, Dutch, 1533–before 1578,

Rome; after Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), Italian, 1485–90?–1576

34. *The Cyclops Forging the Arms of Brescia*, after a painting for the Palazzo Comunale, Brescia, 1572; engraving; 16 3/16 × 15 5/16 in. (41.1 × 38.9 cm); Weil Trust 27

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528
35. *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1498; engraving; 12 5/8 × 8 1 1/16 in. (32.1 × 22.1 cm); Weil Trust 29

36. *Nemesis*, 1502; engraving; 13 1/8 × 9 1/16 in. (33.3 × 23 cm); Weil Trust 69 (cat. 45)

37. *Adam and Eve*, 1504; engraving; 9 3/4 × 7 9/16 in. (24.8 × 19.2 cm); Weil Trust 134 (cat. 46)

38. *Nativity*, 1504; engraving; 7 3/16 × 4 5/8 in. (18.3 × 11.7 cm); Weil Trust 61 (cat. 30)

39. *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, 1513; engraving; 9 5/8 × 7 7/16 in. (24.4 × 18.9 cm); Weil Trust 127 (cat. 48)

40. *Saint Jerome in His Study*, 1514; engraving; 9 5/8 × 7 3/8 in. (24.5 × 18.7 cm); Weil Trust 46 (cat. 49)

41. *Melencolia I*, 1514; engraving; 9 3/8 × 7 5/16 in. (23.8 × 18.6 cm); Weil Trust 35 (cat. 50)

42. *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 1526; engraving; 9 13/16 × 7 5/8 in. (24.9 × 19.4 cm); Weil Trust 31

43. *Abduction on a Unicorn*, 1516; etching; 12 × 8 1/4 in. (30.5 × 21 cm); Weil Trust 50 (cat. 11)

44. *The Rejection of Joachim's Offering*, from the series *The Life of the Virgin*, c. 1504; woodcut; 11 9/16 × 8 5/16 in. (29.4 × 21.1 cm); Weil Trust 25

45. *Siege of a Fortress*, 1527; woodcut printed from 2 blocks; 8 7/8 × 28 7/16 (22.5 × 72.2 cm); Weil Trust 114

Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528, and workshop
46. *The Great Column*, 1513–17; woodcut printed from four blocks; 63 × 10 7/8 in. (160 × 27.6 cm); Weil Trust 55 (cat. 38)

Gerard Edelinck, French, 1640–1707; after Hyacinthe Rigaud, French, 1659–1743
47. *Jules Hardouin Mansart*, n.d.; engraving; 19 3/4 × 7 5/8 in. (50.2 × 19.4 cm); Weil Trust 161

Jean Baptiste Estorges, French (active Rome), active 1666–1689
48. *Forty Hours' Devotion Held in the Oratory of the Communion Generale*, n.d.; pen, brown ink, and gray wash; 21 1/4 × 14 1/4 in. (54 × 36.2 cm); Weil Trust 5

Pietro Faccini, Italian, c. 1562–1602
49. *Saint Francis Receiving the Christ Child in the Presence of the Virgin*, c. 1590s; etching with engraving; 13 1/4 × 9 5/8 in. (33.7 × 24.4 cm); Weil Trust 16

Jeremias Falck, Polish, c. 1609–1677; after Bernardo Strozzi, Italian, 1581–1644
50. *The Aging Coquette*, c. 1656; engraving; 14 9/16 × 11 15/16 in. (37 × 30.3 cm); Weil Trust 11

Paul Flindt the Younger, German, 1567–c. 1631
51. *Covered Cup with an Upright Landscape*, from a series of 23 designs for vessels, 1603; punched print; published by Hieronymus Bang, German, 1553–1630; trimmed: 11 13/16 × 5 1/16 in. (30 × 12.9 cm); Weil Trust 26 (cat. 40)

Giacomo Franco, Italian, 1550–1620
52. *View of Saint Mark's Square with the Arrival of the Dogaresa Morosina Morosini Grimani in the State Barge for Her Coronation in the Doge's Palace on May 4, 1597*, c. 1597; engraving with hand coloring; 16 × 20 3/4 in. (40.6 × 52.7 cm); Weil Trust 144

attributed to Philips Galle, Dutch, 1537–1612; previously attributed to Hendrick Goltzius, Dutch, 1558–1617
53. *Six Prophets of the Annunciation*, n.d.; engraving; 16 3/8 × 11 5/16 in. (41.6 × 28.7 cm); Weil Trust 44 (cat. 21)

Giorgio Ghisi, Italian, 1520–1582
54. *Allegory of Life*, 1561; engraving; 14 7/8 × 21 3/16 in. (37.8 × 53.8 cm); Weil Trust 12 (cat. 10)

Hendrick Goltzius, Dutch, 1558–1617
55. *Juno*, 1596; engraving; 12 5/8 × 9 7/8 in. (32.1 × 25.1 cm); Weil Trust 19

56. *The Massacre of the Innocents*, n.d.; engraving; 19 × 14 7/8 in. (48.3 × 37.8 cm); Weil Trust 40 (cat. 60)

Italian, 15th century, Florence
57. *The Inferno*, after the fresco in the Camposanto of Pisa, n.d. (late 17th-century impression); engraving; 8 5/8 × 10 15/16 in. (21.9 × 27.8 cm); Weil Trust 18 (cat. 19)

58. *Saint Jerome in Penitence*, 15th century; engraving (modern impression); 8 3/4 × 6 13/16 in. (22.2 × 17.3 cm); Weil Trust 131

Italian, 16th century, Rome: See Lafréry

Christoffel Jegher, Flemish, 1596–1652/1653; after Peter Paul Rubens, Flemish, 1577–1640
59. *Susanna and the Elders*, c. 1635; woodcut; 17 3/8 × 22 11/16 in. (44.1 × 57.6 cm); Weil Trust 13

published by Antoine Lafréry, French (active Italy), 1512–1577
60. *Columnia Antonina*, c. 1550, from the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*; engraving; 18 7/16 × 12 15/16 in. (46.8 × 32.8 cm); Weil Trust 112

61. *Pasquino*, c. 1550, from the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*; engraving; 15 5/8 × 11 1/16 in. (39.7 × 28.1 cm); Weil Trust 140 (cat. 63)

Janus Lutma the Younger, Dutch, 1624–1685
62. *P.C. Hooft, Poet*, n.d.; punched print, touched with gray wash; 11 3/8 × 8 3/8 in. (28.9 × 21.3 cm); Weil Trust 10

63. *Janus Lutma the Elder*, 1656; etching with punchwork; 9 1/4 × 7 3/4 in. (23.5 × 19.7 cm); Weil Trust 42

Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506
64. *Entombment of Christ*, n.d.; engraving; trimmed: 11 5/16 × 16 13/16 in. (28.7 × 42.7 cm); Weil Trust 84

65. *Battle of the Sea Gods (left half)*, n.d.; engraving; 13 3/16 × 17 5/16 in. (33.5 × 44 cm); Weil Trust 80

66. *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat*, n.d.; engraving; 12 3/4 × 18 in. (32.4 × 45.7 cm); Weil Trust 79

67. *Bacchanal with Silenus*, n.d.; engraving; 12 1/4 × 18 1/8 in. (31.1 × 46 cm); Weil Trust 78

attributed to Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506
68. *Entombment with Four Birds*, n.d.; engraving; 17 5/16 × 14 in. (44 × 35.6 cm); Weil Trust 77 (cat. 42)

after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506
69. *Flagellation*, n.d.; engraving; trimmed: 15 3/8 × 12 3/16 in. (39.1 × 31 cm); Weil Trust 83 (cat. 44)

70. *Risen Christ*, n.d.; engraving; 14 15/16 × 11 5/8 in. (37.9 × 29.5 cm); Weil Trust 81

71. *Risen Christ*, n.d.; engraving on rose-tinted paper; 15 7/8 × 12 1/16 in. (40.3 × 30.6 cm); Weil Trust 82

72. *Virgin in Grotto*, n.d.; engraving with pen and ink additions; trimmed: 13 13/16 × 10 1/8 in. (35.1 × 25.7 cm); Weil Trust 85 (cat. 43)

73. *The Corselet Bearers*, n.d.; engraving; 10 13/16 × 12 11/16 in. (27.5 × 32.2 cm); Weil Trust 38

74. *Hercules and Antaeus*, n.d.; engraving; 12 15/16 × 8 1/2 in. (32.9 × 21.6 cm); Weil Trust 86

Master of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, Italian, active 1510–1520
75. *Allegorical Theme: Combat of the Animals*, c. 1511–20; engraving; 8 3/4 × 12 7/16 in. (22.2 × 31.6 cm); Weil Trust 8 (cat. 8)

Master of the E-Series Tarocchi, Italian
76. *Fameio (Servant)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 1/8 × 3 15/16 in. (18.1 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 103

77. *Artisan (Artisan)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 3/16 × 4 in. (18.3 × 10.2 cm); Weil Trust 101

78. *Re (King)*, c. 1465; engraving; 6 7/8 × 3 3/4 in. (17.5 × 9.5 cm); Weil Trust 108

79. *Caliope (Calliope)*, c. 1465; engraving with hand coloring; 7 1/8 × 3 15/16 in. (18.1 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 102

80. *Urania*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 1/4 × 3 15/16 in. (18.4 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 110

81. *Talia (Thalia)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 1/16 × 3 15/16 in. (17.9 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 107

82. *Geometria (Geometry)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 × 3 7/8 in. (17.8 × 9.8 cm); Weil Trust 106

83. *Philosophia (Philosophy)*, c. 1465; engraving with hand coloring; 7 × 3 15/16 in. (17.8 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 146 (cat. 5)

84. *Forteza (Fortitude)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 1/16 × 3 7/8 in. (17.9 × 9.8 cm); Weil Trust 105

85. *Fede (Faith)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 3/16 × 3 15/16 in. (18.3 × 10 cm); Weil Trust 104

86. *Mercurio (Mercury)*, c. 1465; engraving; 7 × 3 7/8 in. (17.8 × 9.8 cm); Weil Trust 109

Master of the Vienna Passion, Italian, active c. 1460–1470

87. *The Madonna of Loreto*, c. 1460–70; engraving; 7 11/16 × 4 3/8 in. (19.5 × 11.1 cm); Weil Trust 120

Girolamo Mocetto, Italian, c. 1470–after 1531; after Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c. 1431–1506

88. *Calumny of Apelles*, c. 1504–6; engraving; 12 7/8 × 17 15/16 in. (32.7 × 45.6 cm); Weil Trust 95 (cat. 16)

Nicoletto da Modena, Italian, active c. 1500–c. 1520

89. *Three Stags*, n.d.; engraving; 5 13/16 × 4 3/16 in. (14.8 × 10.6 cm); Weil Trust 91

Benedetto Montagna, Italian c. 1480–c. 1556

90. *A Man Seated by a Palm Tree*, n.d.; engraving; trimmed: 6 9/16 × 4 3/8 in. (16.7 × 11.1 cm); Weil Trust 135

91. *Virgin and Child in Landscape*, n.d.; engraving; 7 3/8 × 4 11/16 in. (18.7 × 11.9 cm); Weil Trust 92

92. *Wild Man*, n.d.; engraving; 5 3/4 × 3 3/4 in. (14.6 × 9.5 cm); Weil Trust 93

93. *Centaur*, n.d.; engraving; trimmed: 6 9/16 × 4 3/8 in. (16.7 × 11.1 cm); Weil Trust 94 (cat. 12)

Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628

94. *Belshazzar's Feast*, c. 1598; engraving; 13 3/16 × 15 9/16 in. (33.5 × 39.5 cm); Weil Trust 162

95. *Venus and Mercury*, c. 1600; engraving; 14 5/8 × 10 11/16 in. (37.1 × 27.1 cm); Weil Trust 54

Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628; after Adriaen de Vries, Dutch, c. 1545/1556–1626

96. *Cleopatra with the Asps*, c. 1598; engraving; 14 1/4 × 9 7/8 in. (36.2 × 25.1 cm); Weil Trust 22 (cat. 65)

Jan Harmensz Muller, Dutch, 1571–1628; after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, Dutch, 1562–1638

97. *Arion on the Dolphin*, c. 1590; engraving; 13 1/8 × 13 7/8 in. (33.3 × 35.2 cm); Weil Trust 6 (cat. 64)

Agostino Musi (called Veneziano), Italian, c. 1490–after 1536

98. *Iphigenia Recognizing Orestes and Pylades*, c. 1515–20; engraving; trimmed: 10 × 7 5/8 in. (25.4 × 19.4 cm); Weil Trust 137 (cat. 17)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Italian, 1720–1778

99. *View of the Principal Prospect of the Column of Trajan*, 1774; etching from six plates; 117 5/16 × 30 11/16 in. (298 × 78 cm); Weil Trust 67

Bernardo Prevedari, Italian, active 1466–1524; after Donato Bramante, Italian, 1444–1514

100. *A Street with Various Buildings, Colonnades and an Arch*, c. 1500; engraving; 10 × 14 1/4 in. (25.4 × 36.2 cm); Weil Trust 87

Camillo Procaccini, Italian, 1555–1629

101. *The Transfiguration*, c. 1587–90; etching; 22 1/8 × 13 5/16 in. (56.2 × 33.8 cm); Weil Trust 157

Marcantonio Raimondi, Italian, c. 1470/1482–c. 1527/1534

102. *Man Beating Lady Luck*, n.d.; engraving; 5 5/8 × 5 3/16 in. (14.3 × 13.2 cm); Weil Trust 121

103. *Christ in Limbo*, 1504–5; engraving; 8 1/2 × 6 3/4 in. (21.6 × 17.1 cm); Weil Trust 74 (cat. 31)

104. *A Young Man Protected by Fortune*, c. 1506–7; engraving; 5 7/8 × 3 1/2 in. (14.9 × 8.9 cm); Weil Trust 68

105. *Mars, Venus, and Cupid*, 1508; engraving; 11 11/16 × 8 3/16 in. (29.7 × 20.8 cm); Weil Trust 20

106. *Adam and Eve*, c. 1512–14; engraving; 9 3/8 × 6 15/16 in. (23.8 × 17.6 cm); Weil Trust 128

107. *Amadeus Berruti, Bishop of Asolo, Conversing with Austerity, Friendship, and Love*, 1517; engraving; 3 1/4 × 3 3/4 in. (8.3 × 9.5 cm); Weil Trust 132

108. *Christ, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist with Saints Paul and Catherine*, c. 1520–25; engraving; 16 15/16 × 11 5/8 in. (43 × 29.5 cm); Weil Trust 57

Marcantonio Raimondi, Italian, c. 1470/1482–c. 1527/1534; after Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471–1528

109. Twenty-three engravings from *The Small Passion*, c. 1515; engraving; each, approximately: 5 × 4 in. (12.7 × 10.2 cm); Weil Trust 133

Marcantonio Raimondi, Italian, c. 1470/1482–c. 1527/1534; after Raphael, Italian, 1483–1520
110. *Saint Cecilia*, 1515–16; engraving; 10 1/4 × 6 1/8 in. (26 × 15.6 cm); Weil Trust 48 (cat. 34)

Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669

111. *Three Oriental Figures*, 1641; etching and drypoint; 5 5/8 × 4 7/16 in. (14.3 × 11.3 cm); Weil Trust 28

112. *The Large Lion Hunt*, 1641; etching and drypoint; 8 13/16 × 11 3/4 in. (22.4 × 29.8 cm); Weil Trust 138 (cat. 58)

113. *The Rest on the Flight (lightly etched)*, 1645; etching and drypoint; 5 3/16 × 4 9/16 in. (13.2 × 11.6 cm); Weil Trust 152 (cat. 53)

114. *Medea: or The Marriage of Jason and Creusa*, 1648; etching with traces of drypoint; 9 3/16 × 6 15/16 in. (23.3 × 17.6 cm); Weil Trust 49

115. *Christ Preaching (The Hundred Guilder Print)*, 1648; etching, drypoint, and engraving on Japanese paper; 11 1/16 × 15 7/16 in. (28.1 × 39.2 cm); Weil Trust 41 (cat. 54)

116. *The Flight into Egypt (a night piece)*, 1651; etching, engraving, and drypoint; trimmed: 5 × 4 5/16 in. (12.7 × 11 cm); Weil Trust 153 (cat. 52)

117. *Faust (The Scholar in His Study)*, c. 1652; etching, drypoint, and engraving on oatmeal paper; 8 1/4 × 6 5/16 in. (21 × 16 cm); Weil Trust 36 (cat. 59)

118. *Christ at Emmaus*, 1654; etching on “Chinese” paper (probably Japanese gasenshi paper); 8 1/4 × 6 1/4 in. (20.9 × 15.8 cm); Weil Trust 125 (cat. 56)

119. *Abraham's Sacrifice*, 1655; etching and drypoint on vellum; 5 7/8 × 4 15/16 in. (14.9 × 12.5 cm); Weil Trust 71 (cat. 51)

120. *Christ Appearing to the Apostles*, 1656; etching; 6 3/8 × 8 5/16 in. (16.2 × 21.1 cm); Weil Trust 158 (cat. 57)

Robetta, Italian, 1462–after 1534

121. *Adoration of the Magi*, n.d.; engraving; 11 11/16 × 10 7/8 in. (29.7 × 27.6 cm); Weil Trust 118

Aegidius Sadeler II, Flemish, c. 1570–1629; after Bartholomeus Spranger, Dutch, 1546–c. 1611

122. *Hercules and Omphale*, n.d.; engraving; 16 3/8 × 12 1/4 in. (41.6 × 31.1 cm); Weil Trust 23 (cat. 66)

Rafael Sadeler I, Flemish, 1560 or 1561–1628 or 1632; after Federico Zuccaro, Italian, c. 1541–1609

123. *The Annunciation with Prophets Who Preached the Coming of the Messiah*, 1580; engraving; trimmed: 11 13/16 × 17 1/2 in. (30 × 44.5 cm); Weil Trust 34 (cat. 20)

Giovanni Battista Scultori, Italian, c. 1503–1575

124. *Hercules and Antaeus*, n.d.; engraving; 8 1/4 × 5 1/2 in. (21 × 14 cm); Weil Trust 148

Benedetto Stefani, Italian, active c. 1570–1580; after Rosso Fiorentino, Italian, 1494–1540

125. *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs*, n.d.; engraving; 10 9/16 × 16 11/16 in. (26.8 × 42.4 cm); Weil Trust 24

published by Philippe Thomassin, French, 1562–1622

126. *Four Men of War in a Tempest*, c. 1610–20; engraving; 13 15/16 × 18 7/8 in. (35.4 × 47.9 cm); Weil Trust 73

attributed to Michael Wolgemut, German, 1434–1519

127. *The Crucifixion*, c. 1490; woodcut printed on vellum, hand colored with transparent washes and body colors, highlighted with gold; 10 7/16 × 6 7/8 in. (26.5 × 17.5 cm); Weil Trust 129

SCULPTURES

Jean (Hans) Arp, French (born Germany), 1886–1966

128. *Silent Revery*, 1937; bronze; 12 3/4 × 8 × 4 1/4 in. (32.4 × 20.3 × 10.8 cm); Weil Trust 63

designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680; modeled in wax by Ercole Ferrata, Italian, 1610–1686

129. *Crucified Christ (Cristo Morto)*, 1657–61; bronze with gilding; 17 5/8 × 13 1/8 × 3 9/16 in. (44.8 × 33.3 × 9 cm); Weil Trust 145 (cat. 71)

attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680

130. *Scipione Borghese*, 17th century; bronze; 7 1/4 × 7 3/8 × 3 1/8 in. (18.4 × 18.7 × 7.9 cm); Weil Trust 72

workshop of Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680

131. *Head of a Young Woman*, 1620s(?); terracotta; 12 1/4 × 7 × 8 13/16 in. (31.1 × 17.8 × 22.4 cm); Weil Trust 47 (cat. 77)

after Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680; Italian, 17th century, Florence

132. *Saint Bibiana*, mid- to late 17th century; bronze and copper alloy with golden red translucent lacquer; 18 5/8 × 7 7/8 × 7 in. (47.3 × 20 × 17.8 cm); Weil Trust 75 (cat. 28)

after Gianlorenzo Bernini, Italian, 1598–1680; Italian, 17th century, Rome

133. *Bust of Paolo Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano*, 1670s(?); bronze; 6 1/2 × 6 × 2 3/4 in. (16.5 × 15.2 × 7 cm); Weil Trust 79 (cat. 80)

Charles Despiau, French, 1874–1946

134. *Bust of Jacquot*, c. 1917; bronze; 10 1/16 × 6 3/8 × 7 3/16 in. (25.6 × 16.2 × 18.3 cm); Weil Trust 2

François Duquesnoy, Flemish (active Italy), c. 1594–1643

135. *Bust of a Putto*, c. 1629; bronze; 11 3/8 × 10 × 6 1/2 in. (28.9 × 25.4 × 16.5 cm); Weil Trust 151 (cat. 76)

Etienne-Maurice Falconet, French, 1716–1791

136. *Figure of a Woman*, 1757–66; bronze; 8 7/8 × 3 7/8 in. (22.5 × 9.8 cm); Weil Trust 163

Cosimo Fanzago, Italian, 1591–1678

137. *Angels*, 1640–47; bronze with gilding; 23a: 22 1/16 × 8 7/8 × 12 5/8 in. (56 × 22.5 × 32.1 cm), 23b: 22 1/4 × 13 1/16 × 13 1/4 in. (56.5 × 33.2 × 33.7 cm); Weil Trust 142 (cats. 23a–b)

French

138. *Head of Christ*, 17th century; bronze; 9 3/4 × 7 5/8 × 4 1/2 in. (24.8 × 19.4 × 11.4 cm); Weil Trust 117

139. *Head of the Virgin*, 17th century; bronze; 10 7/16 × 7 × 4 3/4 in. (26.5 × 17.8 × 12.1 cm); Weil Trust 117

South German, possibly Augsburg

140. *The Crucifixion with Three Crosses*, late 16th–early 17th century; bronze or copper repoussé with gilding; 11 3/8 × 8 1/2 × 1 in. (28.9 × 21.6 × 2.5 cm); Weil Trust 39 (cat. 70)

South German, probably Augsburg

141. *The Coronation of the Virgin*, late 16th century; bronze with gilding; 8 3/8 × 7 × 9/16 in. (21.3 × 17.8 × 1.4 cm); Weil Trust 130 (cat. 26)

Giambologna, Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608; executed by Antonio Susini, Italian, active 1580–1624

142. *Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto)*, 1588–92; bronze with gilding; 12 1/8 × 10 1/8 × 2 1/2 in. (30.8 × 25.7 × 6.4 cm); Weil Trust 70 (cat. 69)

Italian

143. *Saint Jerome*, 19th century; bronze; 10 3/16 × 4 1/2 × 2 7/8 in. (25.8 × 11.4 × 7.3 cm); Weil Trust 111

Italian, Florence

144. *Seated Saint John the Baptist*, c. 1505–10; terracotta with paint; 26 7/16 × 20 1/2 × 11 1/8 in. (67.2 × 52.1 × 28.3 cm); Weil Trust 123 (cat. 73)

Italian, Mantua or Padua

145. *Bust of Pomona*, c. 1500; terracotta with bronze-colored paint; 13 3/8 × 15 1/2 × 8 7/16 in. (34 × 39.4 × 21.4 cm); Weil Trust 143 (cat. 74)

146. *Bust of an Emperor*, c. 1500; terracotta with vestiges of bronze-colored paint; 14 15/16 × 16 1/8 × 9 7/16 in. (37.9 × 41 × 24 cm); Weil Trust 149 (cat. 75)

147. *Seated Apollo*, first half 16th century; bronze; 7 1/8 × 3 3/4 × 5 3/8 in. (18.1 × 9.5 × 13.7 cm); Weil Trust 136 (cat. 62)

Northern Italian, Padua

148. *Satyr Seated on a Tree Stump with Inkwell and Candleholder*, c. 1530; bronze with a high copper content, chocolate bronze natural patina with traces of black-brown paint or varnish; 7 1/8 × 5 × 5 in. (18.1 × 12.7 × 12.7 cm); Weil Trust 64 (cat. 13)

Italian, Rome

149. *Bust of Marcus Aurelius*, late 18th–early 19th century; marble; with socle: 31 3/4 × 15 3/4 × 14 15/16 in. (80.6 × 40 × 37.9 cm); Weil Trust 124 (cat. 1)

Italian, Rome or Milan

150. *Model for a Relief*, c. 1650–1700; wood and red beeswax; 16 1/4 × 10 5/8 in. (41.3 × 27 cm); Weil Trust 45 (cat. 25)

Italian or French

151. *Bust of a Duke*, second half 17th century; terracotta; 10 5/8 × 11 13/16 × 7 1/4 in. (27 × 30 × 18.4 cm); Weil Trust 155

possibly Italian or Flemish

152. *Saint Sebastian*, first quarter 17th century; bronze; the figure with gilding; the tree with brown-black patina; figure: 18 5/8 × 7 15/16 × 4 3/8 in. (47.3 × 20.2 × 11.1 cm), tree: 20 13/16 × 6 1/4 × 5 1/2 in. (52.9 × 15.9 × 14 cm); Weil Trust 116 (cat. 35)

Benedetto da Maiano, Italian, 1442–1497

153. *Saint John the Evangelist*, 1488; terracotta with traces of paint; 37 1/16 × 14 3/16 × 9 13/16 in. (94.1 × 36 × 25 cm); Weil Trust 159 (cat. 24)

workshop of Guglielmo della Porta, Italian, c. 1500–1510–1577; possibly Antonio Gentili da Faenza, Italian, 1519–1609

154. *Madonna and Child*, late 16th century; bronze with gilding; height, with base: 12 1/4 in. (31.1 cm); Weil Trust 58 (cat. 27)

possibly workshop of Guglielmo della Porta, Italian, c. 1500–1510–1577

155. *Hercules and Antaeus*, c. 1550s; bronze; 15 1/4 × 6 3/4 × 7 in. (38.7 × 17.1 × 17.8 cm); Weil Trust 43 (cat. 67)

workshop of Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, Italian, active c. 1496–c. 1543

156. *Boy with Raised Arm*, c. 1500; bronze; 6 7/8 × 2 3/4 × 1 7/8 in. (17.5 × 7 × 4.8 cm); Weil Trust 160 (cat. 79)

157. *Kneeling Satyr*, early 16th century; bronze; 8 × 6 5/16 × 3 1/2 in. (20.3 × 16 × 8.9 cm); Weil Trust 150 (cat. 14)

attributed to Jean Warin III, French, 1604–1672

158. *Bust of Alexander the Great*, c. 1670; bronze; 20 7/8 × 12 1/8 × 5 1/4 in. (53 × 30.8 × 13.3 cm); Weil Trust 37

Photo credits

- Fig. 2 Scala / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 9 © National Museums Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery
Fig. 10 © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images
Fig. 11 © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Michael Urtado / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 13 © The Trustees of the British Museum
Fig. 14 Musée du Louvre, Paris, France / Bridgeman Images
Fig. 15 © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 16 Courtesy of Daniel Katz, Ltd.
Fig. 17 © The Trustees of the British Museum
Fig. 18 Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Fig. 19 © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 20 © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 21 bpk, Berlin / Staatliche Kunstsammlungen / Jürgen Karpinski / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 23 Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Fig. 26 Scala / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 28 Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Fig. 29 Gianni Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY
Fig. 30 © Stéphane Piera / Petit Palais / Roger-Viollet
Fig. 31 Album / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 32 Munich Digitization Center (MDZ) / Bavarian State Library
Fig. 33 Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy / Bridgeman Images
Fig. 35 National Gallery of Art
Fig. 36 Courtauld Institute of Art
Fig. 37 © The Trustees of the British Museum
Fig. 38 Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Fig. 39 DEA / G. Cigolini / Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Fig. 42 DEA / G. Cigolini / Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Fig. 43 bpk, Berlin / Staatliche Museen / Photo: Jörg P. Anders / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 44 Scala / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 46 Rijksmuseum
Fig. 47 Furlane Images / Alamy Stock Photo
Fig. 48 Scala / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 51 Scala / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 52 De Agostini Picture Library/ Bridgeman Images
Fig. 53 Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 54 Courtesy of Judith W. Mann
Fig. 56 bpk, Berlin / Bode-Museum / Jörg P. Anders / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 57 Scala / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 58 bpk, Berlin / Staatliche Museen / Art Resource, NY
Fig. 59 Courtesy of LACMA

Index

Page numbers in **bold** refer to pages that contain illustrations.

A

Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius, 170, 172
 Albacini, Carlo, 11, 41–42
Bust of Lucius Verus, 42
 Alberti, Leon Battista, 14, 57, 79, 81
De Pictura, 79, 81
 Alexander VII (pope), 223
 Algardi, Alessandro, 12, 13, 105, 242
Baptism of Christ, 12, 229–230
Beheading of Saint Paul, 230
 (after) *Christ from a Baptism Group*, 228, 229–230
 allegory, 11, 23, 54, 57, 62, 65, 66, 79, 83, 133, 140, 141, 142, 159
 Antico (Pier Jacopo di Antonio Alari-Bonacolsi), 203, 214, 236
 Apelles, 27, 79, 80, 81
 Apollo, 57, 83, 162, 163, 201
Apollo Belvedere, 83, 162, 163
 Ardizzoni, Simone, 147
 Ariadne, 20, 21, 85 foldout, 216–217
Ariadne, after the antique, 216–217
 Arion, 206–208, 207

B

Baldini, Baccio
Bear Hunt, 24, 60–61, 63
 (attr. to) *Dante Lost in a Wood: Escaping and Meeting Virgil*, 48–49
 Bandinelli, Baccio, 83, 155, 202, 203
Hercules and Cacus, 198
Portrait of the Sculptor Baccio Bandinelli in His Workshop, 198, 199, 200
 Barbari, Jacopo de', 27, 158
Apollo and Diana, 162, 163
Mars and Venus, 159–163, 161
 Bargello (Florence), 12, 202, 220, 232, 233
 Barge, Charles
Cours de Dessin, 18
 Barr, Alfred, 8, 9
 Beatrizet, Nicolas, 200
 Beham, Sebald, 133
 Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, 239
Belvedere Torso, 200, 202
 Benedetto da Rovezzano,
 (attr. to) *Saint John the Baptist*, 232, 233
 Bernini, Gianlorenzo, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 33, 35, 217
Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto), 222, 223–225, 224, 225
Saint Bibiana, 13, 111
Truth, 241
 (after) *Bust of Paolo Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano*, 248, 249
 (after) *Saint Bibiana*, 110–111
 (workshop of) *Head of a Young Woman*, 35–36, 240, 241–242
 (workshop of) *Santa Barbara*, 241
 Bode-Museum (Berlin), 239, 241–242
 Bosch, Hieronymus, 66
 Boselli, Orfeo, 18–20, 239
 Botticelli, Sandro, 49, 50
bozzetti, 18, 111, 200, 208, 229, 241, 243
 Brambilla, Francesco, the Younger, 98
 Branner, Robert, 10
 British Museum (London), 56, 63, 67, 81, 157

bronze

casting techniques, 74, 222, 247
 chasing (incising), 106, 111, 126, 202, 214, 220, 221, 223, 239, 249
 foundries, 86, 111, 247
 foundry marks, 217
 patina, 84
 repoussé, 222
 solid cast, 212, 214
 wax models for, 105, 219, 223, 249
 Bruegel, Peter, the Elder, 66
Bust of an Emperor, 235, 236–237
Bust of a Prophet or Mythological Figure, 243–244, 245
Bust of Marcus Aurelius (18th c. Italian), 11, 36, 40, 41
Bust of Marcus Aurelius (Ancient Roman), 42
Bust of Pomona, 19, 34, 227, 234, 236–237

C

Calder, Alexander, 9
 Campagnola, Domenico
Shepherds in a Landscape, 44–45
 Campagnola, Giulio, 163
Christ and the Woman of Samaria, 24, 118, 119–120
Landscape with Two Men Sitting Near a Grove of Trees, 45
Shepherds in a Landscape, 44
Young Shepherd, 43
 Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Venice), 79
 Camposanto of Pisa fresco
 (after) *The Inferno*, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93
 Canova, Andrea, 147
 Capitoline Museum (Rome), 41
 Carafa, Oliviero (Cardinal), 203
 Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio), 10
Madonna di Loreto, 109
 Carracci, Agostino
A Headpiece in the Form of a Fan, 37, 136, 137
 Castel Sant'Angelo (Rome), 241
 Cavaceppi, Bartolomeo, 41
 Cavalli, Gian Marco, 147
 Cennini, Cennino, 19
 centaur, 70, 211
 Central Institute for Conservation (Rome), 10
 Certosa di San Martino (Naples), 36
 Chaissac, Gaston
Totem, 17
 Chatsworth Collection (Duke of Devonshire), 22, 28
 Chigi Palace (Rome), 78
 Christ, 12, 20, 21, 24, 33, 35, 62, 68, 91, 92, 93, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 148, 149, 150, 154, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 197–98, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230

churches

Chiesa Nuova (Rome), 105
 Church of San Antonio (Padua), 237
 Church of the Addolorata (Serra San Bruno), 98
 Rieti Cathedral, Santa Barbara Chapel (Rieti), 241–242
 San Girolamo della Carità, Spada Chapel (Rome), 241–242
 San Giovanni Laterano (Rome), 126, 243
 San Silvestro al Quirinale (Rome), 13
 Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (Naples), 101
 Santa Maria Annunziata (Rome), 90
 Santa Maria degli Angiolini (Florence), 219
 Ciamberlano, Luca
Pyrotechnic Machine, 140, 141–142, 143
 City Art Gallery (Plymouth), 249
 Cleopatra, 25, 83, 206, 208, 209, 217
 Cleveland Museum of Art, 12
 contrapposto, 77, 117, 162, 198
 Coornhert, Dirck Volkertsz, 197–198
Coronation of the Virgin, 106–107, 223
 corpus, 33, 35, 219, 220, 223, 224, 225
Corpus (Romanesque), 33
 Cort, Cornelis, 91, 93, 95
 Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, 27, 62
Crucifixion with Three Crosses, 221–223, 222

D

Danese, Bernardino, 249
 Dante Alighieri, 48–50, 66, 95
The Divine Comedy, 25, 48, 49, 63, 70, 89
 Danti, Vincenzo, 215
 della Casa, Nicolò
Portrait of the Sculptor Baccio Bandinelli in His Workshop, 198–200, 199, 203
 della Robbia, Andrea
Mother of Sorrows, 34
 Diana, 65, 66, 67, 136, 162, 163
 Donatello, 150, 247
 drypoint, 138, 178, 179, 182, 183, 189
 Duquesnoy, François, 12, 35, 126
Bust of a Putto (Weil collection, St. Louis), 238, 239
Bust of a Putto (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Germany), 239
Bust of a Putto (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), 239
Cupid Carving His Bow, 239
Saint Susanna, 239
 Dürer, Albrecht, 14, 20, 22, 24, 27, 28, 44, 70, 117, 138, 148
Abduction on a Unicorn, 16, 24, 60, 67–69, 70
Adam, 162
Adam and Eve, 22, 24, 115, 159–163, 160, 200
Apocalypse, 24
The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin, from *The Life of the Virgin*, 106
Erasmus of Rotterdam, 16
The Great Column, 24, 25, 27, 132–135, 134
Knight, Death, and the Devil, 28, 164–168, 167, 173
The Life of the Virgin, 106, 115
Meisterstiche (master engravings), 22, 24, 165, 193
Melencolia I, 24, 133, 164–165, 170–173, 171, 193

- Nativity, 70, 114, 115
 Nemesis, 14, 22, 156, 157–158
 Prayerbook of Maximilian, 68, 133
 Saint Eustace, 22, 23, 62, 63
 Saint Jerome in His Study, 164–165, 168–170, 169, 173, 193
 Saint Jerome Penitent in the Wilderness, 24, 126, 127–129
 Small Passion, 24
 Study for the Winged Figure of Fortune and Study of a Wing, 157
 The Knight (ink studies), 166
 Treatise on Measurement, 135
 Duvet, Jean, 58, 66
- E
 Eisendrath, William, 8, 9
 ekphrasis, 27, 79
 Elsheimer, Adam, 125, 178
 engraving, 23, 26, 27, 44, 45, 49–50, 60, 63, 79, 90–91, 93, 117, 120, 122, 128, 138, 142, 146–148, 150, 155, 163, 168, 183, 197, 200, 207, 208, 212
 Fine Manner, 50, 119
 punched engraving, 138
 reproductive, 25, 26–27, 45, 52, 67, 79, 88–95, 120–23, 154, 203–205
 stipple, 44, 119
 Esdaile, William, 28, 187
 d'Este, Isabella, Marchesa of Mantua, 56–57, 65
 etching, 27, 67, 68, 128, 142, 155, 178, 182, 188, 189, 191
 Euripides
Iphigenia in Tauris, 83
 van Eyck, Jan, 9
- F
 Fanzago, Cosimo, 36
Angels (Weil collection, St. Louis), 96–99
 Genuflecting Angels, 96–99
 Altar, Church of the Addolorata (Serra San Bruno), 98, 99
 Farsetti collection (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg), 111
 Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor, 25, 140, 142
 Ferrata, Ercole, 99
Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto), 222, 223–225, 224, 225
 Ferri, Ciro, 105
 Ficino, Marsilio, 170, 172
 Flindt, Paul, the Younger
Covered Cup with an Upright Landscape, 25, 27, 138–139
 Fogg Museum (Cambridge, MA), see Harvard University Art Museums
 Francia, Francesco, 117
 Francis I, King of France, 217
 Frick Collection (New York), 217
 Friedrich August II, Elector of Saxony, 28
- G
 Gagini, Antonio
Saint Catherine of Alexandria, 30
 Galle, Philips
 (attr. to) *Six Prophets of the Annunciation*, 88, 92, 95
 Gallino, Giancarlo, collection of (Turin), 219
 Gallonio, Antonio, 105
 Gauricus, Pomponius, 74
 Gentili, Antonio da Faenza
Venus and Cupid, 109
 (possibly) *Madonna and Child*, 108, 109
- Ghisi, Giorgio
Allegory of Life, 11, 21, 23, 64, 65–67, 193
School of Athens, after Rafael, 65
 Giambologna, 19, 20, 21, 33, 126
Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto), 218, 219–220
Corpus, 219–220
Fowler, 32, 33
Sleeping Venus and Satyr (Weil collection, St. Louis), 10, 19–20, 84–85 foldout
Sleeping Venus and Satyr (Green Vault, Dresden), 84
 Susini, Antonio, relation with, 222
 Giordano, Luca, 36
 Giorgetti, Antonio, 12, 13, 18, 241–242
 Balustrade, Spada Chapel, San Girolamo della Carità (Rome), 242
Model for one of two alabaster angels for the balustrade of the Spada Chapel, San Girolamo della Carità, Rome, 241–242
 Giorgione, 44–45, 119, 181
Il Tramonto, 45
 Giotto, 54
 Giovanni Antonio da Brescia
Alma Justicia (Justice), 52–53
 (attr. to) *Virtus Combusta (Allegory of the Fall of Humanity)* and *Virtus Deserta (Allegory of the Redemption of Humanity)*, 24, 54–57, 55
 goldsmiths, 25, 63, 70, 90, 107, 109, 147, 152, 155, 220, 221
 Augsburg, 33, 223, 249
 Faenza, 109
 Flindt, Paul, the Younger, 138
 Kornmann, Johann Jakob, 249
 Mantegna, Andrea, 147
 Nuremberg, 138
 Goltzius, Hendrick, 25, 207
The Massacre of the Innocents, 196, 197–198
 (prev. attr. to) *Six Prophets of the Annunciation*, 88, 92, 93, 95
 Gonzaga, 11, 146, 154, 236, 237
 Gonzaga, Francesco, 56
 Gonzaga, Ippolita, 65, 66
 Green Vault (Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden), 20, 84
grotteschi (grotesque ornament), 27, 84, 135, 138
- H
 van Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz, 198
Arion on the Dolphin, 206–208, 207
 Harvard University Art Museums, formerly Fogg Museum (Cambridge, MA), 12, 18
 Heemskerck, Maerten van, 77, 197–198
 Hercules, 35, 70, 198, 202, 211–212, 237, 247
Farnese Hercules, 198
 Hercules and Antaeus, 212, 213, 214–215
 Hercules and Cacus, 198
 Hercules and Omphale, 210–212
 Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), 111, 175
 Herodotus
Histories, 206
 Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (Braunschweig), 239
 Hibbard, Howard, 10
 Hudson, Kenneth, 8
 hunt, hunting, 23, 24, 33, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 190–191
Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, 85 foldout
- I
Inferno, after the fresco in the Camposanto of Pisa, 88–90
 Institute of Fine Arts (New York University), 10, 17, 18
 Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (Boston), 17
- J
 Jegher, Christoffel
Susanna and the Elders, 11, 25
 Jenkins, Thomas, 41
 Johanna, Grand Duchess of Austria, 219
 de Jonghe, Clement, 193
 Josefowitz collection, 28, 57
 Julius II (pope), 217
- K
 Kandinsky, Wassily, 9
 Keck, Caroline, 16–17
 Keck, Sheldon, 16–17
 Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth), 13
 Klee, Paul, 8, 9
 Koberger, Anton, 128
 Kornmann, Johann Jakob, 249
 Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), 239
- L
 Lafréry, Antoine
Pasquino, 27, 203–205, 204
Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, 203–205
 Lanz, Otto, 101, 102
 Laurentii, Nicolaus
 Dante, *The Divine Comedy* (Florence, 1481), 48–50, 63
 Lely, Peter, 28, 78
 LeGros, Pierre, the Younger, 243
Religion Overthrowing Heresy, 243
Saint Bartholomew, 243
Saint Thomas, 243, 244
 Leonardo da Vinci, 24, 59–60
Allegory with Solar Mirror, 59, 60
 Leoni, Leone
Ippolita Gonzaga as Diana, 66
 Lewine, Milton, 10
 Leyden, Lucas van, 185
 Lie, Henry, 12–13
 Liechtenstein collection, 126
 Linsky Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), 73
 Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, 54
 Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 243
 Louvre (Paris), 42, 73, 91, 111, 237
 Lucian of Samosata, 27, 79–81
Slander, 79
 Lucius Verus, 41–42
 Lutma, Janus, the Elder, 25, 26
 Lutma, Janus, the Younger, 25
Janus Lutma the Elder, 26

- M
- Maiano, Benedetto da, 32, 101
Altar of the Annunciation, Mastroguidici Chapel, Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (Naples), 101–103
Saint John the Evangelist, 100–103
Saint John the Evangelist, prior to conservation, 102
- Mantegna, Andrea, 22, 28, 90, 117, 236
Adoration of the Magi, 150, 154
Battle of the Sea Gods, 57, 152
The Calumny of Apelles, 81
Entombment, 150, 152, 155
Minerva Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue, 56–57, 65–66
San Zeno altarpiece, 148
Studies for Christ at the Column, 154
Triumph of Caesar, 237
Virtus Combusta, 56
(attr. to) *Entombment with Four Birds*, 22–23, 28, 146–152, 149
(after) *Alma Justicia (Justice)*, 52, 53
(after) *Calumny of Apelles*, 27, 79, 80
(after) *Flagellation*, 146, 153, 154–155, 163
(after) *Virgin in the Grotto*, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152–155
(after) *Virtus Combusta (Allegory of the Fall of Humanity)* and *Virtus Deserta (Allegory of the Redemption of Humanity)*, 24, 54–55
- Manzini, Luigi
Applausi festivi, 140–142
- Marcus Aurelius, 11, 36, 40, 41–42
- Mariette, Pierre II, 28, 95
- Mars and Venus, 159, 161, 163
- Master of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist
Allegorical Theme: Combat of the Animals, 24, 58–60
- Master of the David and Saint John statuettes, 12, 232
- Master of the E-Series Tarocci
Philosophia (Philosophy), 24, 50–52, 51
- Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 68, 133
- May, Morton D., 8
- Medici, 50, 109, 154, 162, 163, 198, 200, 212, 215, 219
Medici Chapel, 109
Medici, Cosimo I de, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 198, 212
Medici, Francesco I de, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 219
Medici Venus, 162, 163
- Memphis Academy of Arts, 20
- Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), 13, 62, 66, 73, 93, 106, 162, 247, 249
- Michelangelo Buonarroti, 66, 78, 202
David, 12, 232
Madonna, 109
Medici Chapel (Florence), 109
Sibyls, 54
- Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, see Washington University in St. Louis
- Minello, Antonio
Bust of Mary Magdalene, 236–237
Investiture of Saint Anthony, 237
- Minello, Giovanni, 236
- Minneapolis Institute of Art, 11, 202, 203
- Mino da Fiesole, 32
- Miró, Joan, 8
- mirrors, 59–60
- Mocetto, Girolamo
Calumny of Apelles, 27, 79, 80
- Model for a Relief*, 104–105
- Montagna, Bartolomeo, 70
- Montagna, Benedetto
Centaur, 70–71
Disputed Nymph, 70
- Mora, Laura, 10
- Mora, Paolo, 10
- Morgan, J.P., 28
- Morgan Library (New York), 68
- Muller, Jan Harmensz, 25
Arion on the Dolphin, 206–208, 207
Belshazaar's Feast, 183
Cleopatra with the Asps, 25, 206, 208–209
Death of Cleopatra, 208–209
- Museo Diocesano (Vibo Valentia), 98, 99
- Museum of Fine Arts (Houston), 12
- Museum of Modern Art (New York), 8
- Musi, Agostino (called Veneziano)
Iphigenia Recognizing Orestes and Pylades, 82–83
- Mylonas, George, 8, 9
- N
- Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (Kansas City), 17
- Nolde, Emil, 27
- Nuremberg Chronicle, 68
- Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen), 77
- O
- Odoni, Andrea, 237
- Orsini, Paolo Giordano II, Duke of Bracciano, 248–249
- Ovid, 57
Ars Amatoria, 211
Fasti, 211
Heroides, 211–212
- P
- Pallavicini collection, 225
- Parigi, Giulio
(circle of) *Stage Design for a Scene in the Underworld*, 88, 94
- pasquinades, 203, 205
- Pasquino*, 27, 203–205, 204
- Passarotti, Bartolomeo, 77
- Penni, Giovanni Francesco, 120
(attr. to) *Compositional Study for Saint Cecelia*, 122
- Penni, Luca, 66
- Pergamon exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016 (New York), 247
- perspective, 67, 115, 166, 172
- Peruzzi, Baldassare, 77–78
- Petel, Georg, 126
- Philip II, King of Spain, 219
- Piazza della Signoria (Florence), 232
- Piranesi, Giovanni Battista
View of the Principal Prospect of the Column of Trajan, 25
- Pisanello, Antonello, 62
- Pitti Palace (Florence), 35, 212
- Pius V (pope), 219
- Pliny the elder, 35, 74
- Pollaiuolo, Antonio
Battle of the Nudes, 24, 148, 155
- Poliziano, Angelo, 157
- Polykleitos, 77
- Pomona, 19, 34, 234, 236
- Ponte Sant'Angelo (Rome), 12
- Porta, Guglielmo della, 215
(possibly workshop of) *Hercules and Antaeus*, 35, 212–214, 213
(workshop of) *Madonna and Child*, 108, 109
- Posner, Donald, 18
- Primaticcio, 217
- prints and sculpture, 51, 52, 78, 83, 85 foldout, 105, 106, 117, 150–152, 166, 197, 198–200, 203–205, 208–209, 212, 249
- printmaking, 12, 24, 25, 26, 90, 91, 138, 142, 147, 148, 155, 208
- Propertius
Elegy IV, 211
- proportion, 14, 67, 115, 157–158, 159, 162
- Proserpina, rape of, 68
- Puget, Pierre
The Blessed Alessandro Sauli as Saint Augustine, 34, 36
- Pulitzer, Joseph, Jr., 8
- R
- Raggi, Antonio, 18
- Raimondi, Marcantonio, 24, 117, 120, 155
Christ in Limbo, 24, 116–117
Saint Cecilia, 24, 120–123, 121
- Raphael, 11, 24–25, 65–67, 109, 117, 120–123, 155
Saint Cecilia, Patron Saint of Music, with Saints, 120, 122
Sistine Madonna, 109
(after) *School of Athens*, 65
(after) *Saint Cecilia*, 24, 25, 120–123, 121
- Rathbone, Perry, 8
- Reclining Pan*, 34
- Rembrandt van Rijn, 22, 24–25, 27, 81, 175, 178, 181–183, 185, 187, 191
Abraham's Sacrifice, 174–175
Christ Appearing to the Apostles, 187–189, 188
Christ at Emmaus, 186, 187–189
Christ Preaching (La Petite Tombe), 179, 183–185, 184
Christ Preaching (The Hundred Guilder Print), 20, 22, 28, 178, 179, 180, 181–183, 185, 189, 193
Christ Presented to the People (Ecce Homo), 22, 179
The Descent from the Cross, 187
Faust (The Scholar in His Study), 192–193
The Flight into Egypt (a night piece), 176, 178
Portrait of Jan Lutma, 25, 26
Presentation in the Temple, 187
Saskia in a Straw Hat, 178
The Large Lion Hunt, 190–191
The Rest on the Flight (lightly etched), 177–178
The Three Trees, 28
- Reni, Guido, 13
- Ribera, Jusepe de
Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment, 126–129
Saint Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene and Her Handmaiden, 125
- Riccio, Andrea (Andrea Brioso), 73, 236
Arione, 237
- Richardson, Jonathan, Jr., 28, 78
An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, 28
- Richardson, Jonathan, Sr., 28, 78, 81
An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, 28
- Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam), 102, 179, 185, 208

- Robertson, Clem, 17
 Romano, Giulio, 11
 Rosa, Salvator, 10, 36
 Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness, 36
 Self-Portrait in Armor Carrying a Flag, 10
 Roth, Jim, 17
 Rubens, Peter Paul, 11, 25, 191
 Rucellai, Giovanni
 Oreste, 83
 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 25, 212
- S
- Sadeler, Aegidius II, 25, 212
 Hercules and Omphale, 210–212
 Sadeler, Jan I, 106
 Sadeler, Jan II, 88, 91, 106
 Sadeler, Rafael I, 88, 90–91, 93, 95
 The Annunciation with Prophets Who Preached the Coming of the Messiah, 88, 90–91
- saints
- Anthony, 70, 237
 Anthony Abbott, 104, 105
 Augustine, 34, 36, 121, 122, 168
 Barbara, 241, 242
 Bartholomew, 243
 Bibiana, 13, 110–111, 241
 Catherine of Alexandria, 30
 Cecilia, 24–25, 120, 121–122, 123
 Charles Borromeo, 104, 105
 Dominic, 104, 105
 Eustace, 22–23, 62–63
 George, 70
 Irene, 125
 James the Greater, 104, 105
 Jerome (Hieronymus), 24, 126, 127, 18, 129, 164, 168, 169, 170, 173, 193, 200, 232
 John the Baptist, 31, 36, 102, 104, 105, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233
 John the Evangelist, 100, 101–102, 103, 104, 105, 121, 122, 221, 222
 Mary Magdalene, 104, 105, 121, 122, 188, 221, 222, 236
 Paul, 70, 104, 121, 122, 123, 105, 230
 Peter, 104, 105
 Philip Neri, 104, 105
 Thomas, 243–244
 Sebastian, 36, 124–125, 126
 Susanna, 239
- Saint Louis Art Museum
 East Building, 30
 Gallery 236, 30–31
 Hispano-Moresque Room, 9
 Study Room for Prints, Drawings, and Photographs, 27
 Saint Louis University, 8
Saint Sebastian, 36, 124, 125–126
 Salamanca, Antonio, 205
 Sam Fox School of Design and Visual Arts, see Washington University in St. Louis
 Sam Fox Visual Arts and Design Center, see Washington University in St. Louis
 Sansovino (Jacopo Tatti), 12, 232–233
 (attr. to) *Seated Saint John the Baptist*, 232–233
 Santacroce collection (Rome), 77
 satyr, 10, 19, 20, 35, 57, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 85, 85 foldout, 133, 135, 136, 247
Satyr Seated on a Tree Stump with Inkwell and Candleholder, 72–73
- Schongauer, Martin
 Christ Carrying the Cross, 24
 Nativity, 115
Seated Apollo, 201–203
Seated Saint John the Baptist, 226, 230–233, 231
 Severo Calzetta da Ravenna, 35
 (workshop of) *Boy with Raised Arm*, 246, 247
 (workshop of) *Kneeling Satyr*, 74–75
 Shapiro, Meyer, 9–10
 Sigel, Anthony, 12–13, 241
 Six, Jan, 28, 185
Sleeping Ariadne, 20, 21, 85 foldout
 Smith, Norris Kelly, 8, 9
 Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (New York), 9
 Spieghel, Hendrick Laurensz, 208
 Mirror of the Heart, 206
 Spranger, Bartholomeus, 211, 212
 Squarcione, Francesco, 150
 Stedelijk Museum (Amsterdam), 102
 Stefano Bardini Museum (Florence), 236
 Stein, Eliot, 8
 Steinberg, Etta, 8, 9
 Steinberg, Mark C., 8
 Stradanus, Johannes, 95, 191
 The Six Prophets of the Coming of Christ, 93
Study of Pan, 76–77
 Susini, Antonio
 Christ Crucified (Cristo Morto), 218, 219–220
 Fowler, 32–33
 Madonna and Child, 220
 Sweeney, James Johnson, 9
- T
- Tacca, Pietro, 126
 “talking statues”, 203
 terracotta
 conservation with plaster, 13, 18, 102
 painted, 102, 233, 236–237
 tools, toolmarks, 111, 237, 244
 Theocritus, 45
 Thompson, David, 8
 Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, 102, 236
 Tibaldi, Pellegrino, 98
 Titian (Tiziano Vecelli)
 The Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea, 45
 Worship of Venus, 239
 Tombe, Pieter de la, 181
 Tornioli, Niccolo, 140
- U
- unicorns, 60, 62, 68
- V
- Vasari, Giorgio, 54, 101, 146, 147, 155
 Judith and Holofernes, 54
 Lives, 146
 Vatican (Vatican City)
 Belvedere Palace, 52
 St. Peter's, 35, 223, 335
 Vatican Museums, 229
 van de Velde, Esaias, 27
 Veneziano, see Musi
 Venus, 10, 19, 20, 84, 85, 85 foldout, 109, 159, 161, 163
 Mars and Venus, 159–163, 161
 Medici Venus, 162, 163
 Sleeping Venus and Satyr, 10, 19, 20, 84, 85, 85 foldout
 Venus and Cupid, 109
 Worship of Venus, 239
- Verrocchio, Andrea del, 12
 Bartolomeo Colleoni, 166
 vice, 56, 57, 59, 60, 66, 208
 Victoria and Albert Museum (London), 12, 62, 202, 249
 Villa Ludovisi (Rome), 239
 Virgil, 45, 48–50, 66–67, 165
 Aeneid, 49, 66
Virgin Lactans, 112–113
 Virgin Mary, 83, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 120, 154, 176, 177, 178, 197, 221, 222
 virtue, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 66, 83, 165, 208, 209, 211
 cardinal virtues, 54
 scholastic virtues, 173
 Vitruvius, 14, 135
 de Vries, Adriaen, 25, 84, 206, 208, 209, 219
 (after) *Cleopatra with the Asps*, 25, 206–209
- W
- Walker Art Gallery (Liverpool), 41, 42
 Walters Art Museum (Baltimore), 73
 Washington University in St. Louis, 8, 9, 14–15
 Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, 8, 15
 Sam Fox School of Design and Visual Arts, 15
 Sam Fox Visual Arts and Design Center, 15
 Weil, Florence, 8, 9
 Weil, Maurice, 8
 Weil, Richard, 8, 9
 Weinberger, Emil, 12
 Wilhelm V, Duke of Bavaria, 219
 Wittkower, Rudolf, 10, 12, 241, 242
 Wolgemut, Michael, 27
 woodcut, 24, 26, 45, 106, 132–135
- Z
- Zuccaro, Federico, 90, 91, 93, 95
 (after) *The Annunciation with Prophets Who Preached the Coming of the Messiah*, 88, 90, 91

This page intentionally left blank

